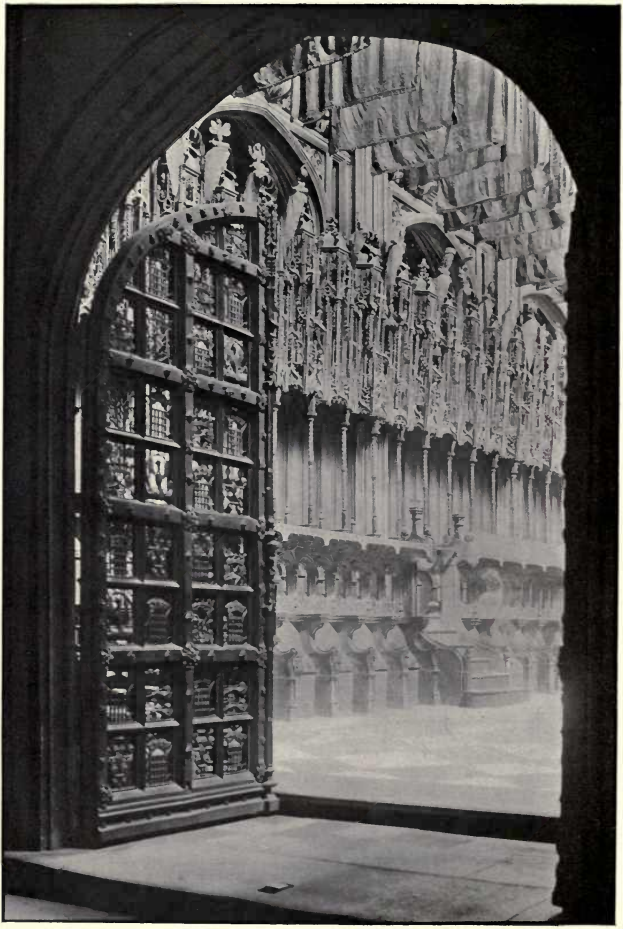
Westminster Abbey

FRANCIS BOND

With best love & wishes
from Jo & Harry

Xmas 1909.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY



Henry VII.'s Chapel

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

BY

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"*Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.*"

"*All these were honoured in their generation, and were the glory of their times.*"

"*Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore.*"

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PREFACE.

Of all the magnificent memorials which we and the English-speaking nations beyond the seas have inherited from the piety and genius of our fathers, none approaches in interest the great church at Westminster, which "from its primitive foundation," as a monastic chronicler proudly records, "was the Coronation Church of England and the mausoleum of her kings, the head of England, and the diadem of the English realms." Round the Abbey a voluminous literature has gathered. A considerable part of it is devoted rather to the cemetery at Westminster than to the church. Another portion consists of architectural monographs on special subjects by Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr William Burges, Professor Lethaby, Mr J. T. Micklethwaite, and others—all of great value. Lately, too, a large amount of documentary evidence as to the history of the church has been put on record by Sir E. M. Thomson, Dr J. Wickham Legg, Mr L. G. W. Legg, Colonel Chester, the present Dean of Westminster, Dr J. Armitage Robinson, Dr Montague R. James, and the Reverend R. B. Rackham. But the only comprehensive account of the architectural history of the church is that published by Mr E. W. Brayley in 1818. The present volume may be regarded in part as an attempt to do on a small scale what was done by Mr Brayley in two large quarto volumes, but with the addition of information drawn from the special monographs and documentary evidence mentioned above. This comprises the chapters on the churches of the Confessor and Henry the Third, on the rebuilding of the nave, on Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and on the monastic buildings. And as it would be idle to describe the monastic buildings and arrangements without reference to their occupants, the materials furnished by Abbot Ware's *Customary* have been largely utilised, to enable the reader in some measure to realise the daily life of a Benedictine monk as it was lived at Westminster.

But the book attempts more than this. The church at Westminster is but one of the host of great monastic, collegiate, and cathedral churches left to us, which, amid a multitude of varying details, are in their main

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arrangements largely the same. What is true of Westminster is true in essentials of all. If we understand the meaning of the planning of Westminster, we can visit with assured insight Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Winchester, Lincoln, and the rest. It is from this wider point of view that Westminster Abbey is regarded in this volume. To a large extent the book aims at describing the general arrangements and purpose of the English churches in general, except those which are purely parochial. Few people seem to recognise the great disparity in aim of the non-parochial and parish churches. Six chapters are here devoted to this subject.

Then we turn to the architectural and artistic side of the monument. With the details of the design we are not here concerned; they are treated at length in connection with English mediaeval architecture in general in a larger work of the writer. What is attempted here is something different; it is to get at the fundamentals of the design. The Abbey is a large church, hugely long and enormously tall; why is it so long, so tall, and so narrow? and how was each of these precise dimensions arrived at? and what lies at the bottom of its system of proportions? These and the like are much bigger questions than the foliation of a capital or the contour of a base, and, with whatever success, an attempt has been made to deal with them.

Finally, the writer has not shrunk from avowing his unqualified dissent from the brilliant generalisations of Viollet-le-Duc on the secular origin of Gothic architecture. Religion, and that in a very special sense, was the mainspring of Gothic architecture, as is set forth at length in Chapters IV. and XVII.

In a task at once comprehensive and immersed in detail many imperfections cannot be avoided. The writer would plead that if they obtrude themselves, it is not because a great amount of work has not been put into the book. He has had at his disposal the long array of literature set forth in the Bibliography, and has constantly consulted the valuable works by Mr E. W. Brayley, Dean Stanley, and Professor Lethaby, and the important papers by Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr W. Burges, Mr J. T. Micklethwaite, the present Dean of Westminster, and the Rev. R. B. Rackham; the "Deanery Guide" has also been useful in locating and describing the tombs and monuments. He has to thank the Dean of Westminster for the facilities accorded to him for studying the fabric of the Abbey, in which he received material assistance from Mr Wallace and Mr Wright. To Mr Weller special acknowledgment is due for the readiness and generosity with which he placed at the disposal of the writer his intimate knowledge of the Abbey.

For photographs and drawings his thanks are due to Mr M. Allen,

A.R.I.B.A., Mr E. M. Beloe, F.S.A., Mr G. A. Dunn, Mr S. G. Kimber, F.R.P.S., Professor Lethaby, Mr T. MacLaren, A.R.I.B.A., Mr F. R. Taylor, Mr Sydney Vacher, A.R.I.B.A., Mr David Weller, Mr A. Needham Wilson, A.R.I.B.A., Mr E. W. M. Wonnacott, A.R.I.B.A., and Mr Thomas Wright. Mr W. S. Weatherley, F.R.I.B.A., has generously allowed a large number of his admirable series of drawings of the statuary in Henry the Seventh's Chapel to be reproduced. Mr Cottingham's illustrations of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Gleanings from Westminster*, Neale and Brayley's *History of Westminster Abbey*, *Vetusta Monumenta*, and Professor Willis' paper on Vaulting have also been drawn upon. The plans and sketches on pp. 11, 12, 13, 40, 97, 127, 128, 138, 145 are by Mr J. Harold Gibbons, A.R.I.B.A., Pugin student 1903. The illustrations have been reproduced by the Grout Engraving Company, the plans mostly by Mr Emery Walker. The book is lavishly illustrated—there are 24 plans and sections, 11 measured drawings, 74 sketches and rubbings, and 161 photographs—to the intent that those who live in far countries and may never have the opportunity of visiting Westminster may yet obtain an intimate knowledge of the Abbey. It may be added for the benefit of my foreign readers that it is customary in England to speak of the church as "the Abbey"; Sir Lucius O'Trigger assured Bob Acres in "The Rivals" "there is very snug lying in the Abbey." Properly, however, the term is inclusive of the monastic buildings as well as the church. It should be mentioned also that the expenditure on the Abbey up to the Dissolution has been given as far as possible in modern equivalents.

The text is preceded by a Bibliography, and is followed by an Index to the Illustrations and an Index to the text.

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Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, by Sir Gilbert Scott and others. Second edition. Oxford, 1863. A collection of very valuable papers, especially those by Mr W. Burges: but almost useless for lack of an index.

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WESTMINSTER ABBEY

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

THE abbey church of Westminster has always occupied an exceptional and privileged rank among the churches of England. Like Gloucester, Peterborough, and Ely, it was served till the Dissolution by Benedictine monks; and like these, it became the seat of a bishop; but while these have remained cathedrals, Westminster retained cathedral rank only for ten years.

Benedictine houses were of all sorts of size and importance; Westminster was one of the most important of all. Its abbot was one of the greatest men in the realm, and was invested with the insignia of episcopal rank; and as a mitred abbot sat with the bishops in the House of Lords: only to the mitred abbot of St Alban's he gave unwilling precedence.

Moreover the abbey was in immediate and direct connexion with the sovereign. The monastery and church stood side by side in their precincts, and the church was a Royal Chapel; Edward III. speaks of it as "Our chapel," "the Chapel Peculiar of Our Palace." Like some other of the greater abbeys, it was a "Peculiar"; a royal licence was required for the election of Abbots of Westminster as well as for their entry into possession, and they succeeded in getting exemption from all spiritual juris-

diction in England.* After Crokesley's abbacy (1246-1258) the Bishop of London finally ceased to have visitorial power over Westminster; and to this day neither Archbishop nor Bishop may take part in any solemn service in the abbey church, other than a Coronation, except by permission of the Dean; to this day also the Dean presents a formal protest on the meeting of Convocation within the precincts, as did the Abbots before him. On the other hand, being exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, the abbey was immediately subject to the Pope. The result was that every newly chosen abbot had to go all the way to Rome for confirmation of his election. What with the heavy fees payable at the Papal court and the expense of the journey, the

Roman Sarcophagus

cost at each election was enormous; it is estimated that on each occasion it amounted to £6,400.† It was not till 1478 that, with the aid of Edward IV., the abbey got exemption from this obligatory visit to Rome at election time, and then only on condition of an annual payment to the Pope's treasurer.

Like Southwell and Chichester cathedrals, the abbey of Westminster occupies a site which has been in use for nearly

* The following is a quotation from the Bull of Pope Paschal II. (1099-1118), given in Flete's *History*, page 14: "Locum prelibatum ab omni servitio et dominatione episcopali absolvimus . . . ut nullus episcopus, sive Londoniensis seu quicunque aliquis alius, illuc introeat ordinaturus aut aliquid sive in maximo sive in minimo praecepturus, nisi propria abbatis ex petitione et monachorum communi utilitate. Concedimus, permittimus et confirmamus ut locus ille regiae constitutionis in perpetuum et consecrationis locus sit atque insignium regalium repositorium."

† Widmore, 117.

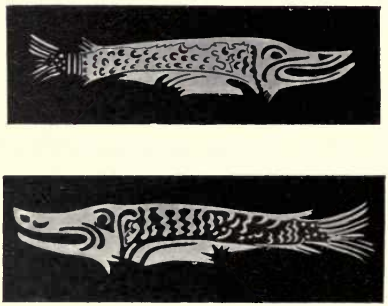
twenty centuries. At Southwell a portion of Roman mosaic pavement may be seen *in situ* under the flooring of the transept; while at Westminster, when the grave of Lord Lawrence was being dug in the nave, a Roman wall was found *in situ;* and a Roman sarcophagus, found to the north of the nave, may be seen in the vestibule of the Chapter House (2). When first an abbey church arose is uncertain. The Isle of Thorns, Thorn-ea, or Thorney, was well suited for an abbey, being composed of gravel and fine sand; with streams, once navigable, on either

Tomb of King Sebert

side, which served to flush the monastic drains and provided a harbour for the monastic boats; while to the east there was the Thames, by which timber and building stone were easy of transport: moreover the river was then full of salmon. Two springs existed on the island, one in St Margaret's churchyard; the other marked by the pump in the green of Dean's Yard; in later days drinking water was brought to the abbey from springs in Hyde Park. With marshes to the south and west, as well as at Lambeth and Battersea, and with a broad river hard by, the site was of just the character which had led other Benedictines

to found abbeys at Peterborough on the Nene, at Ely on the Ouse, and elsewhere. Like Peterborough, Ely, Ramsey, Croyland, St Benet's, Glastonbury, it was a Fen Monastery.

The legendary history of the abbey dates back its foundation to A.D. 616, when the first church is said to have been built by King Sebert, whose reputed tomb is still shown in the south ambulatory opposite to the chapel of St Benedict (3). Sebert had finished his church, it is said, and all things were ready for its consecration by Mellitus, Bishop of London. On the eve of the consecration a fisherman, Edric by name, his day's work done, had rowed home in the gathering gloom to the Lambeth bank, when a stranger accosted him, and asked to be ferried across to Thorney Isle, and promised him meet reward. He



Tiles in Chapter House

was landed on the island and wended his way into the church. Whereupon straightway there brake forth from within a multitude of shining lights, and a chorus was heard of heavenly voices, and angels and archangels were seen descending a ladder from the skies, and the air was filled with celestial odours. At last the stranger returned, and was ferried back to the Lambeth bank, and the fisherman asked for his reward. The stranger bade him cast his net into the river, and he brought up a miraculous draught of salmon; which, said the stranger, should never fail in Lambeth while tithe of them was offered to the church in Thorney Isle; and he bade the fisherman take one of the salmon to Mellitus, and tell how he had carried in his boat the fisher of the Galilean lake and had seen the church consecrated

by St Peter and all the glorious hierarchy of heaven. Which when Bishop Mellitus heard, he hastened to the church, and there found twelve consecration crosses on the walls, and the letters of the alphabet written twice * on the sanded pavement, and the traces of chrism, and the droppings of the angelic tapers. All which things have been put into verse by Matthew Arnold :

"Rough was the winter eve,
Their craft the fishers leave,
And down over the Thames the darkness grew.
One still lags last, and turns and eyes the Pile
Huge in the gloom, down in Thorney Isle,
King Sebert's work, the wondrous Minster new.
'Tis Lambeth now, where then
They moored their boats among the bulrush stems :
And that new Minster in the matted fen
The world-famed Abbey by the westering Thames.

His mates are gone, and he
For mist can scarcely see
A strange wayfarer coming to his side ;
Who bade him loose his boat and fix his oar
And row him straightway to the further shore,
And wait while he did for a space abide.
The fisher awed obeys ;
That voice had note so clear of sweet command ;
Through pouring tide he pulls and drizzling haze,
And sets his freight ashore on Thorney strand.

The Minster's outlined mass
Rose dim from the morass,
And thitherward the stranger took his way.
Lo ! on a sudden all the pile is bright !
Nave, choir and transept glorified with light,
While tongues of fire on coign and carving play !
And heavenly odours fair
Come streaming with the floods of glory in,
And carols float along the happy air
As if the reign of joy did now begin.

* So the Norman poem :

"L'abecede en pavement
Escrit duble apertement ;" vv. 2,201, 2.

The Latin account says that one alphabet was in Greek, the other in Latin ; "Videt pavimentum utriusque alphabeti inscriptione signatum." (Aeldred apud Migne, col. 757). On the mystical signification of the rite see Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, i. 173.

Then all again is dark;
And by the fisher's bark
The unknown passenger returning stands.
'O Saxon fisher! thou hast had with thee
The fisher from the Lake of Galilee.'
So saith he, blessing him with outspread hands;
Then fades, but speaks the while:
'At dawn thou to King Sebert shalt relate
How his St Peter's church in Thorney Isle
Peter, his friend, with light did consecrate.'"

True or not, the story was devoutly believed for centuries. So late as 1359 King Edward III. expressly mentions Westminster as "the place which in ancient days received its consecration from Blessed Peter the Apostle with the ministry of angels."* Moreover there was the undoubted fact that to the Westminster monks belonged by custom—a custom which in 1230 they vindicated at law†—the tithe of salmon from Staines to Gravesend; and till 1382 the usage survived that once every year a fisherman brought up a salmon in solemn procession to the convent assembled in state in the refectory; where, it is recorded,‡ he was set down at the table with the Prior or with those who had had their blood let, and was given his dinner (4).§

* Flete (*History*, page 35) quotes the following "from a very ancient chronicle written in Anglo-Saxon": "Deinde rex Orientalium Saxonum Sebertus, dicti regis Ethelberti ex sorore nepos, similiter accepto sanctae regenerationis lavacro, dejecit funditus Apollinis templum prope Londiniam in Thornensi insula, ut dictum est, situatum; et ecclesiam ibidem in honore beati Petri apostolorum principis devote fundavit et construxit, quam postea idem caelestis claviger in spiritu cum supernorum civium comitatu deo et sibi consecravit."

† See Flete, 67.

‡ "Ut contingere solet de piscatoribus oblacionem de salmone beati Petri facientibus, qui ad tabulam sanguinatorum . . . decentius duci possunt, ut prandeant ibidem" (*Consuetudines*, 103). "Iste piscis cum fuerit coctus debet in parapside per medium refectorii usque ad mensam deferri, cui debet prior et omnes assidentes in illa domo assurgere; piscatores etiam ad mensam prioris eodem die debent comedere" (Flete's *History*, 66) Flete also quotes Giraldus Cambrensis' etymology and natural history of the salmon. It seems that "salmo a saliendo naturaliter nomen accepit," and that it leaps a spear's length high; and when it comes to a steep place, it bends back its tail, or even seizes it in its mouth; and, then letting go suddenly, flies up to the admiration of everybody. "Pisces hujusmodi naturaliter aquae cursum contrainntuntur, cumque obstaculum inveniunt valde praeruptum, caudam ad os replicant, interdum etiam ad majorem saltus efficaciam caudam ipsam ore comprimunt; dumque a circulo hujuscemodi se subito resolvunt, impetu quodam, tanquam subita virgae circulatae explicatione, se ab imis ad alta cum intuentium admiratione longe transmittunt."

§ For a critical discussion of the various versions of the legends of the foundation of Westminster, see the Dean of Westminster's edition of Flete's *History*, pages 2-11.

Be that as it may, there was certainly a monastery here in the tenth century; for William of Malmesbury* tells us that *c.* 960 St Dunstan "brought in twelve monks of the Benedictine Order"; in pursuance, no doubt, of his wonted policy of superseding as far as possible Secular Canons by Monks. It is stated that St Dunstan among other things gave Paddington manor to the Abbey.† It is quite certain also that there was an important church standing and in use when the Confessor began to build; for in a letter written between 1065 and 1074 it is recorded that he built his quire some distance east of an existing church, and separated from it by an intervening space, that the services in the old church might not be interfered with. As the Confessor probably built little more than a quire and transepts, it may be inferred that the earlier church occupied the site of the Confessor's nave, and therefore that of the present nave, which is coextensive with the Norman one.

* *De Gest. Pont.*, 141. † Walcott's *Memorials*, 1.

PART II

CHAPTER II

WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

WHEN we reach the reign of the Confessor, we are on firmer ground. Much of his monastic buildings still remains, and some fragments of his church. The church was begun about 1055, and enough was finished to permit its consecration on December 28th, 1065, a few days before the king's death. What was finished consisted probably of the eastern limb, the south wall of the south aisle of the nave, and as much of the transepts and nave as was needed to prop up the lower stage of a central tower; also, apparently, a vestibule or covered passage was built to connect his work with the Anglo-Saxon church to the west. The building of the nave was commenced about 1110, and most of it was probably finished by 1163, when the bones of the Confessor were translated to a shrine on his canonisation. There have been dug up in the present nave fragments of enriched Norman work not earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. The new church was dedicated, like the old one, to St Peter. St Peter was one of the Confessor's patron saints; moreover during his long exile in Normandy Edward had vowed to go on pilgrimage to St Peter's great church at Rome, if ever he were restored to England. But when he returned to England as king, the Great Council of the nation would not hear of such a thing; but, instead, sent a deputation to the Pope, to explain how impossible it was for England to be without a sovereign during so long and perilous a journey. And the representative of St Peter gave him excuse; but only on condition that he should found or restore an abbey of St Peter. And so King Edward rebuilt this church and

monastery of St Peter. He had been sent away in childhood for safety to Normandy; and, except that he retained long hair and a beard, had become a thorough Norman. At that time the Normans were on a much higher plane of culture than the Anglo-Saxons, and Edward's long sojourn abroad must have impressed him profoundly with the superiority of the Normans equally as regards manners, culture, religion, and art. Naturally, when he returned to England as king, he brought or sent for many sterling friends he had made in Normandy, both laymen and ecclesiastics; in particular Rodbertus, Abbot of Jumièges, who became successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury.* And one of the outward and visible signs of his feeling in the ecclesiastical sphere was that he proceeded to build his new abbey not in Anglo-Saxon fashion, but in the manner of the new and advanced schools of Romanesque architecture which had grown up in Normandy and Touraine.† Now, too, French handwriting superseded in the English court the old Anglo-Saxon characters; and under his auspices the French seals became the type of the sign manual in England for centuries.‡ It is perhaps somewhat remarkable that with his foreign antecedents and predispositions he encountered so little opposition, and retained his throne undisturbed during a long and not unprosperous reign. Little however as his subjects may have appreciated his artistic and devotional tendencies, it was noted with approval that he was a "good sportsman," the "open sesame" to English hearts then as now. He would hear Mass early in the morning, and then be off to the woods for days together, flying his hawks, and cheering on his hounds. Nor was any language too strong to hurl at any one who was so unlucky as to interfere with the chase.§ One day a peasant had damaged the nets into which the deer were to be driven; "By God and His Mother," said the king, 'sua nobili percitus ira,' "I will pay you out for this." To the end of his life he kept up his hunting. Sport and church-going were the two great pursuits of his life.

On page 11 is a plan, in which, as far as may be, the Norman church is reconstituted. It is recorded that it had western towers; probably they were just where they are at present. There was a long nave with aisles; both nave and

* Luard, *Rolls*, xxxiv.

† Edward's knowledge of France was not confined to Normandy. Early in his reign he is found making gifts to St Denis and other monasteries (Ellis, 304, 307).

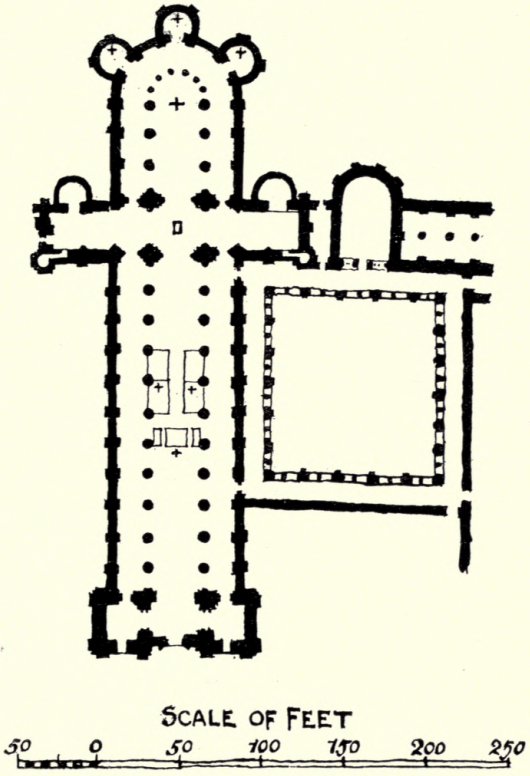
‡ Stanley, 14.

§ Stanley, 11; Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 27.

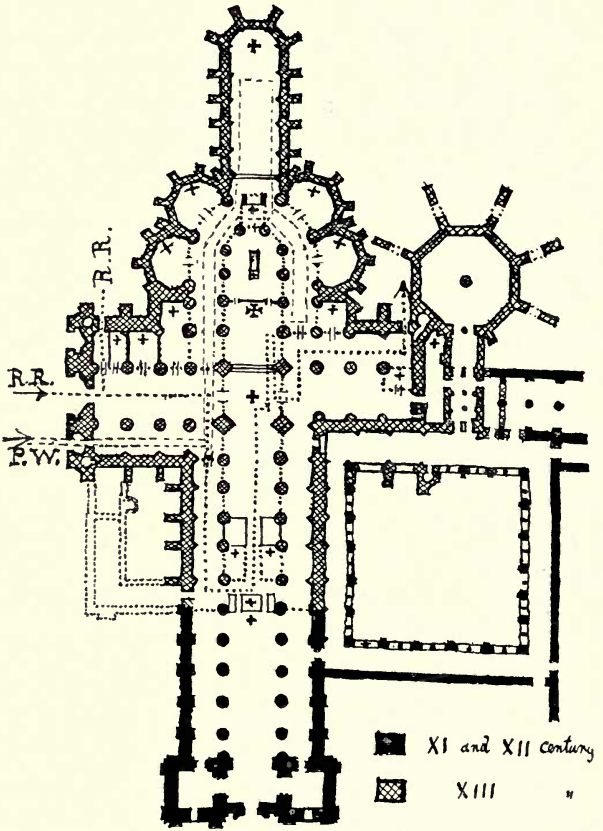
aisles were of the same breadth and length as at present; and were divided, as now, into eleven compartments or "bays"; it would however be far less lofty; probably the top of its third story or "clerestory" was where now is the top of the second story or "triforium." Probably two screens ran across it as shewn in the plan; and in front of each screen would be altars. Between the eastern of the two screens and the "crossing" would be placed the stalls of the monks, just as at present. Then came two cross-arms or "transepts," intersecting at the crossing under the central tower. The crossing and the next three bays to the east formed a large sanctuary, or as it is often called "presbytery" or "sacrarium." The transepts had no doubt little semicircular chapels projecting eastward from each; either two chapels as at St Alban's; or, more probably, only one, as at Gloucester. Besides these, there would be other little apsidal chapels to the north-east, east, and south-east of the eastern limb. To give access to these chapels, and, in addition, to enable processions to pass round the sanctuary without turning on their steps as they had to do in churches planned as Peterborough Cathedral originally was, with three parallel eastern apses, an aisle was built to the north, south, and east of the sanctuary, passing round it; this is sometimes called the Ambulatory.

Of the above details some we know from contemporary documentary evidence; and there is also the material fact that the bases of three of the piers of the Norman apse still exist, and may be inspected by pulling up trap doors constructed for that purpose in the pavement of the sanctuary by Sir Gilbert Scott. The documentary evidence is in Latin and has been greatly misunderstood. The three passages that concern us are these: (1) "*Principalis arae domus altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato opere parique commissura circumvolvitur*"; (2) "*Abitus ipsius aedis dupplici lapidum arcu ex utroque latere hinc et inde . . . clauditur*"; (3) "*Subter et supra disposite educuntur domicilia, memoriis apostolorum, martyrium, confessorum ac virginum consecranda per sua altaria.*" Most writers have followed a loose and inaccurate translation of Sir Christopher Wren; Mr Micklethwaite * however gives a new translation, as follows: "The main building is rounded and built with very high and uniform arches of ashlar work. And the aisle enclosing that part is strongly vaulted with a double arch of stone springing from either side right and left." This translation is almost as unintelligible as Wren's; moreover it is obviously a mistake to imagine that *arcus* means "a vault," and *fornix* "an arch."

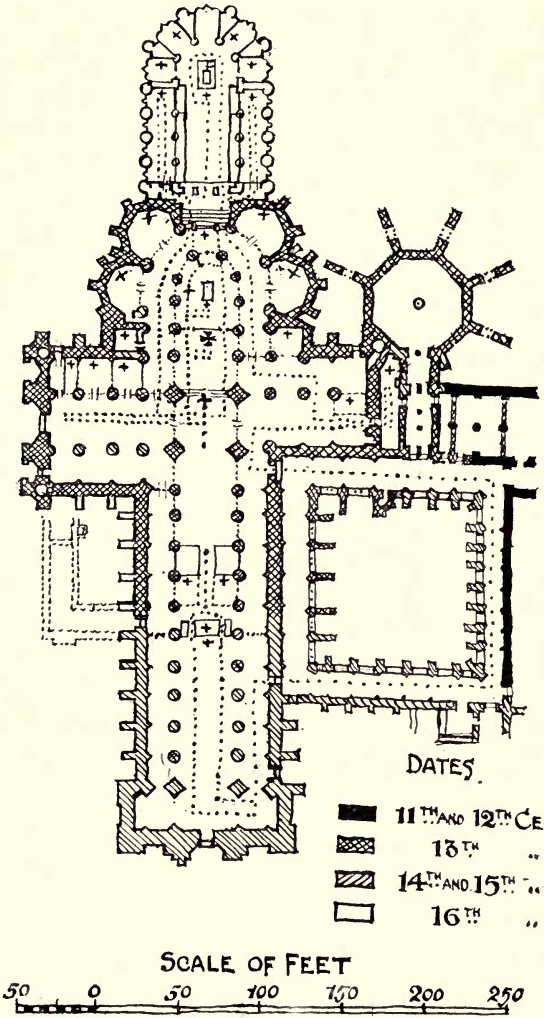
* *Archæological Journal*, li. 11.



The Church, *c.* 1200



The Church, *c.* 1300; with Royal route and Pilgrim's way



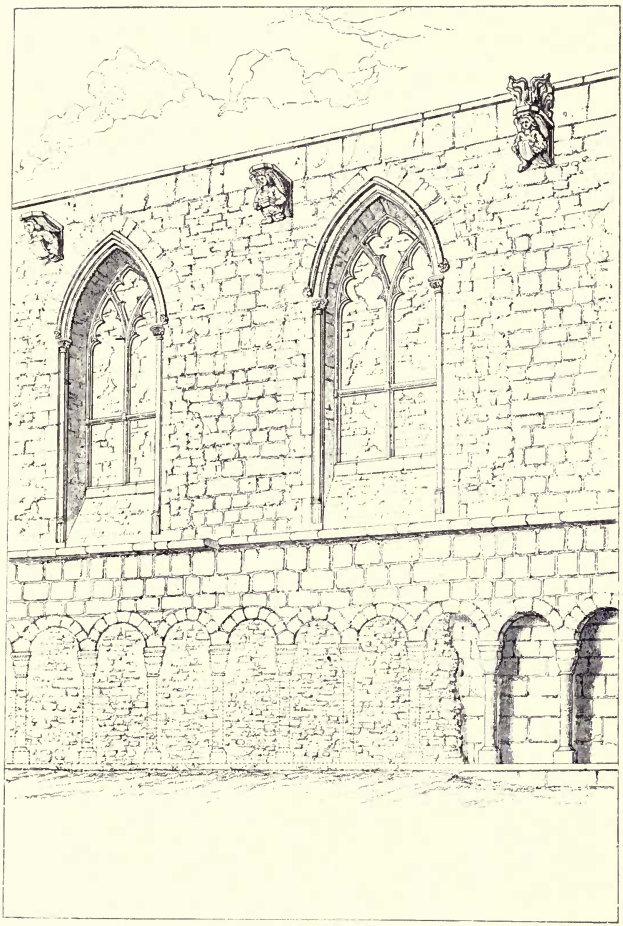
The Church, *c.* 1530; with route of the Sunday procession

Evidently the former means "an arch" or "an arcade," and the latter "a vault." The meaning of the words "*principalis aræ domus altissimis erecta fornicibus circumvolvitur*" is that "the sanctuary (home of the high altar) is built with vaults very high and is surrounded by them." But what are the vaults meant? Certainly they are not those of "the main building"; there were no high vaults anywhere, either here or in Normandy, in 1050. It follows that they can only be the vaults of the ambulatory. What the writer is trying to say is that the sanctuary is apsidal, and that it is encircled by a vaulted ambulatory. He also tells us that the walls of the sanctuary (and no doubt of the ambulatory also) are built of dressed stone (ashlar) laid in regular, uniform courses; not of rubble laid in herring-bone fashion or at random.

The second passage refers to the ambulatory; for the other text has *ambitus* ("circuit" or "encircling aisle"), which is the correct reading, and not *abitus*. The translation is, "The ambulatory of the main building of the church, *i.e.*, the sanctuary, is fenced off on both sides all round" (*i.e.*, to the north, south, and east) "by a double arcade of ashlar." This means there are two rows of arches superposed; the lower range of arches in front of the ambulatory, and the upper range in front of the triforium chamber. Probably the upper range would consist of a single undivided arch in each bay of the triforium, as at St Alban's, Norwich, Binham, Wymondham, the Abbaye-aux-hommes, and originally in Gloucester quire.

Now we come to the third passage. This is translated by Mr Micklethwaite as if "*educuntur*" meant "are built projecting out from *the transept*"; and accordingly he draws on his plan a couple of apsidal chapels projecting eastward from each transept. No doubt there were chapels in each Norman transept, though not necessarily two. But the word "*educuntur*" refers more especially to chapels projecting out from *the ambulatory*. Otherwise the church would have, as is shewn in Mr Micklethwaite's plan, an ambulatory and no radiating chapels; a very improbable arrangement, as the chief use of an ambulatory was to provide access to eastern chapels; moreover, there is hardly a single church in England or Normandy with semicircular ambulatory but without radiating chapels. To these latter the term "*educuntur*" more especially applies; but it may also well apply to chapels projecting east from the transept; for every large cruciform church of the period had transeptal chapels.

Again turning back to the Latin, we are told that there were chapels above and chapels below, which when they got

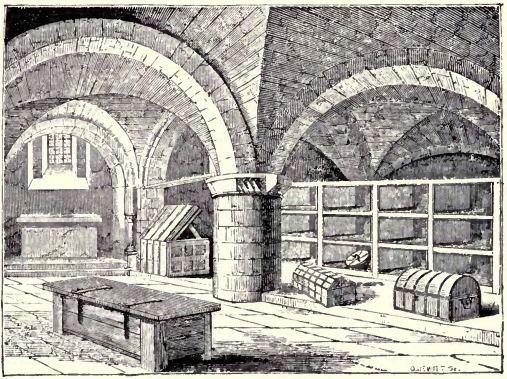


Part of Norman Refectory

their altars were to be dedicated to various saints. To understand this, we have only to consider the arrangement of the Gloucester quire and transepts. At Gloucester there are not only apsidal chapels on the ground floor, but another set on the top of them opening into the triforium chamber. From the analogy of Gloucester therefore we conclude that the third passage means that there were Saints' chapels; three opening into the ambulatory, and two into the transept; and five on the top of them opening into the triforium chamber of the quire and transepts.

One difficulty remains. The ambulatory is described in the first passage as having very high vaults, "*altissimis erecta fornicibus.*" But if its vaults were very high, the pillars and arches on which the inner side of the vaults rested, would also be very high—something like those of Gloucester nave. But if the pillars and arches round the sanctuary were lofty, it would be quite impossible for there to be upper chapels. Moreover the analogy of Gloucester quire is against it. Gloucester has upper chapels, and the pillars round the sacrarium are exceptionally low; so they were originally at Tewkesbury, another church apparently planned like Norman Westminster. What vaults then is it that were very high? Gloucester again supplies the answer. Not only has the ambulatory of Gloucester quire a groined vault, but the triforium chamber has a vault of its own as well. A very curious one it is; what is called a half-barrel-vault or *demi-berceau.* Precisely the same type of vault seems to have been employed at St Stephen's, Caen; and we found the spring of such a vault in the triforium chamber of the sanctuary of Cérisy-le-Forêt, the most ancient part of the church, which is probably earlier in date than the Abbaye-aux-hommes. This, then, is the most probable explanation of the chronicler's very bad Latin; the church was built with a groined ambulatory of coursed ashlar, and with a triforium chamber roofed, not like Jumièges with a groined vault, but like Gloucester quire with a demi-berceau. Altogether the Confessor's church must have been very far in advance of any church of its day in Normandy. It is highly probable that we have in Gloucester quire and transept a close copy of it; the only important difference being that Gloucester has a crypt, in which are placed yet another set of chapels; so that there are fifteen chapels at Gloucester against the ten of Norman Westminster in the quire and transepts. It is possible also that the design of the naves of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Pershore with their brobdingnagian pillars and diminutive triforiums may also be of Westminster inspiration; at any rate no such design occurs in the eleventh-century

churches of Normandy. In any case, this church of the Confessor was vastly important in the history of English architecture. It was the plan of Westminster, with chapels radiating from an ambulatory, and not that of the Normandy churches, with three parallel eastern apses and no ambulatory, that was followed in the eleventh and twelfth century plans of Battle, Winchester Cathedral, St Augustine's, Canterbury, Chichester, Lewes, Reading, Dover, St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in the South of England; Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Leominster, Pershore, Muchelney, Lichfield, Chester Cathedral, in the West; Bury St Edmund's, Croyland, Norwich, and Tynemouth, in the



Chapel of the Pyx

East and North. Equally foreign to Normandy are the superposed chapels of Norman Westminster and Gloucester. Hence it follows that whereas all the text-books tell us that our English Romanesque is derived from Normandy, there are in reality two separate sources, the second being the Confessor's church at Westminster. One would like greatly to know what was the genesis of its design. In all probability the plan came from St Martin's, Tours;* it is possible that the idea of superposing the chapels came from the same church; unfortunately, the

* See *Gothic Architecture in England*, page 192, for plan of St Martin's abbey church.

quire of St Martin's, Tours, was rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and what were its original arrangements on the first floor it is impossible now to ascertain.

Norman Cloister Arcade

PART III

CHAPTER III

WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

FOR a long period the Confessor's church sufficed all needs. But early in the thirteenth century, here and everywhere throughout Christendom, an increasing veneration for Our Lady led to the building or rebuilding or enlargement of Lady chapels. At Westminster there was substituted for the Confessor's easternmost chapel a Lady chapel as broad as the nave of Henry VII.'s chapel is now, and extending as far as the entrance of the chapel east of his grille; the foundations of three sides of its eastern apse were found in 1876. Henry III. was a boy only ten years old when it was consecrated in 1220; so it was not a Royal work. It was begun by Abbot Humez, and finished by Abbot Berking, who was buried before its High Altar. The money was largely raised by subscriptions, entitling the donors to indulgence in purgatory.* Its roof was taken off in 1256 that it might be vaulted (12).

Now we come to the greatest building period at Westminster, that of Henry III. Henry was a lover of art, and a most generous and munificent patron of art, spending on it all that he had and more than he had. His master passion, however, was architecture; he was always building somewhere; and for his work at Westminster he impoverished himself and London and the whole kingdom to such an extent as to bring himself into conflict with London and the nation at large. He was moved to the rebuilding of the Westminster church because it was not only the greatest of the Royal chapels, but was the tombhouse of his especial patron and advocate, St Edward. His regard for the Confessor on St Edward's Day is specially

* Neale, i. 41.

mentioned by Matthew of Westminster, who says, that on the eve before St Edward's Day, "the king and his train clothed themselves in white garments, and spent the vigil in strict fasting, watching and prayer, and acts of charity, remaining all night in the Abbey Church. The next day solemn Mass was sung in the Church, the quire being clothed in vestments of richest silk presented by him, and the Church illuminated with innumerable wax tapers, and the finest music." In a deeply religious and devotional age Henry was conspicuous even above others for his love for the Church and her services, in this outdoing the saintly St Louis of France himself; twice, thrice, even four or five times a day he would hear Mass; he could never pass a church without entering to say a prayer or join in the office that was being sung. His work at Westminster is the memorial of his devotion alike to religion and to art.

There was, however, a special reason why the convent must have been equally anxious with the king to rebuild the Norman church. It was that the Norman sanctuary had become cramped and incommodious (11). Even in his lifetime miracles had been worked by the touch of the Confessor; and after his death in 1066 they became more frequent still; application was made to Rome, and in 1163 he was formally canonised. He was buried in the crossing of his own church; *i.e.*, in the middle of the space beneath the central tower; on this very spot a shrine was erected to contain his bones.* Now, in England, usually, unless there was a lofty crypt beneath, the High Altar was kept quite low; and the Confessor's shrine, which was of considerable size,† standing in front of the High Altar at Westminster, must have seriously blocked the view of the celebrant at High Mass, whose movements it was all-important for the occupants of the stalls to see, if they were to follow the office with precision. And when it was desired to expose the relics of the Confessor and the offerings at his shrine to the great crowds of pilgrims who thronged to Westminster from all over England, it was necessary to introduce them into the very heart of the church, the sanctuary, a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. The remedy for this was to do what had been done at Canterbury in a somewhat similar case; viz., to provide the great local saint—at Canterbury it was St Thomas, martyred in 1170—with a separate chapel, placed out of the way, east of

* Those who have visited Worcester Cathedral will remember that the tomb of King John to this day occupies a similar position in front of the High Altar.

† The illustration shews the shrine which preceded the present one; with sick folk creeping beneath it in hope of cure of their diseases.

King Henry III

Queen Eleanor

the High Altar. When Canterbury quire was rebuilt in 1175, it was prolonged much further to the east than before in order to provide room for a new eastern Saint's chapel, the now wrongly-named Trinity chapel. Precisely the same course was adopted by Henry III. at Westminster. In planning the new eastern limb, the apse was set so far back to the east that room was left for a Saint's chapel at the back of the High Altar (12).*

The demolition of the old church began in 1245; and in the first 13 years the eastern sanctuary with its ambulatory and

The Old Shrine of St Edward

chapels, and the crossing and transepts were completed. In 1258 orders were given for the demolition of the Norman nave as far as the vestry; and the first four or five bays from the crossing must have been on the way to completion in the next 11 years; for in 1269 the bones of St Edward were trans-

* Quite a large number of churches adopted the Canterbury plan about this time; *e.g.*, Winchester built an eastern Saint's chapel for St Swithin, *c.* 1207 or a little later; Beverley Minster for St John of Beverley, *c.* 1225; Ely for St Etheldreda, 1235-1252; Durham Cathedral for St Cuthbert in 1242; Lincoln Minster for St Hugh, 1256-1280; Hayles Abbey for the Holy Blood, 1270; St Alban's built probably two eastern chapels, one for St Alban and one for St Amphibalus, 1302-1308.

The Shrine of St Edward

lated to the present shrine, and the monks sang Mass for the first time in the new church on October 13. The western bays of the quire cannot however have been completely finished for some time afterwards: for the receipts in 1269 to be spent on work in the church amounted to £24,400; in 1270 to £21,500; and in 1271 to £21,800. In these three years much work was done at the windows, including "canvas for closing the windows" till such time as they should be glazed. Evidently the work was still in full swing up to the day of the king's death in 1272: when it seems to have been suddenly stopped by Edward I. It is usual to assume that the eastern bays of the nave were built by Edward I.; such an assumption is quite at variance with the fabric rolls. It is difficult to see how it arose; for the *Monasticon* says, quite accurately, that "the abbey as rebuilt by Henry III. includes the quire to somewhat beyond Sir Isaac Newton's monument"; also that the end of Henry's high vault westward is marked by the discontinuance of white stripes of chalk in the filling in of the vaulting cells.* On this great work, not only the building, but its equipment, the stalls, the reliquaries, the service books, the vestments, the plate, the bells, money was poured out without count and without stint; everything was of the best; in all things it was desired to equal and if possible to surpass the finest work of England and of France. In 1253 over £300,000 had been spent; in 1261 more than £500,000; the total cost to Henry can hardly have been less than £750,000 of our money. Taking into account the great increase of population and wealth since the thirteenth century, it is as if Edward VII. should spend on a single church, and that with the nave still to build, over £6,000,000.†

From 1245 to 1253 Henry of Westminster was in charge of the works; from 1254 to 1262 John of Gloucester; from 1262 to 1269 Robert of Beverley.‡ The changes in the design west of the crossing are due no doubt to John of Gloucester; the piers have eight shafts instead of four, the additional four being engaged; the high vault has additional ribs, viz., a transverse ridge rib and eight intermediate ribs; in the spandrils of the arcading of the aisle walls are set beautiful shields§ of some of Henry's royal contemporaries and of great barons of the king-

* Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 273, 2nd edition, 1817.

† If we were to take into account the still greater disproportion between the income of the nation in 1269 and its present income (in 1904 it was estimated at £1,710,000,000) we should have to multiply that sum many times over.

‡ Lethaby's *Westminster*, 150-173.

§ Coloured drawings of these may be obtained in the Abbey.

Eleanor of Provence

St Edward the Confessor

King Henry the Third

Simon de Montfort

dom (25); the capitals also of the aisle arcading are molded instead of being foliated, the triforium has no enrichments in its arch-moldings: the profiles of the vault ribs also differ.

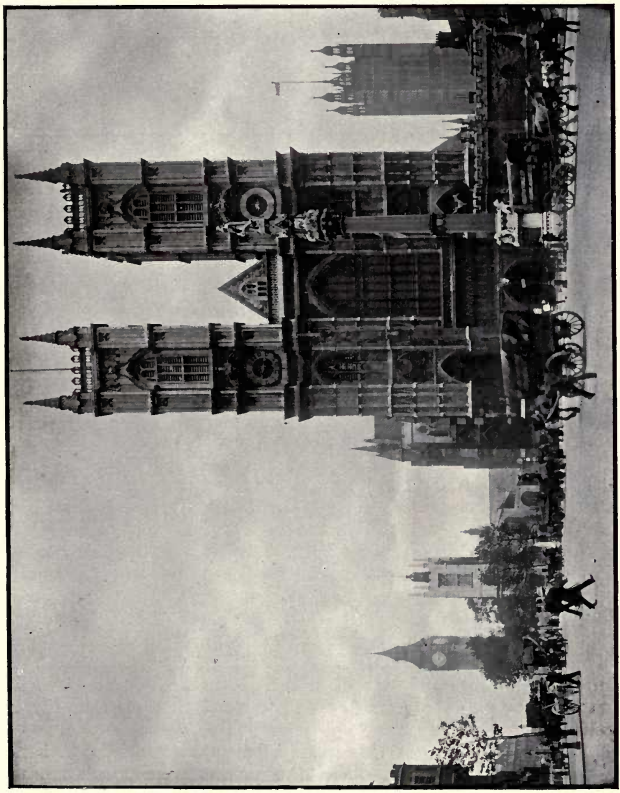
The design, as thus modified, was gradually carried out, with little further change, to the west end of the nave during the two succeeding centuries, as will be described later; leaving the church practically as now we see it from the eastern apse above St Edward's shrine to the far-away western doorway of the nave. Before passing to the later history of the Abbey, it may be well to consider somewhat in detail this great and magnificent memorial of the genius and the faith of our fathers; its plan and purport, its construction and design.

Quire and Sanctuary from West

CHAPTER IV

THE PLAN AND PURPOSE OF CHURCHES SERVED BY SECULAR CANONS, REGULAR CANONS, OR MONKS

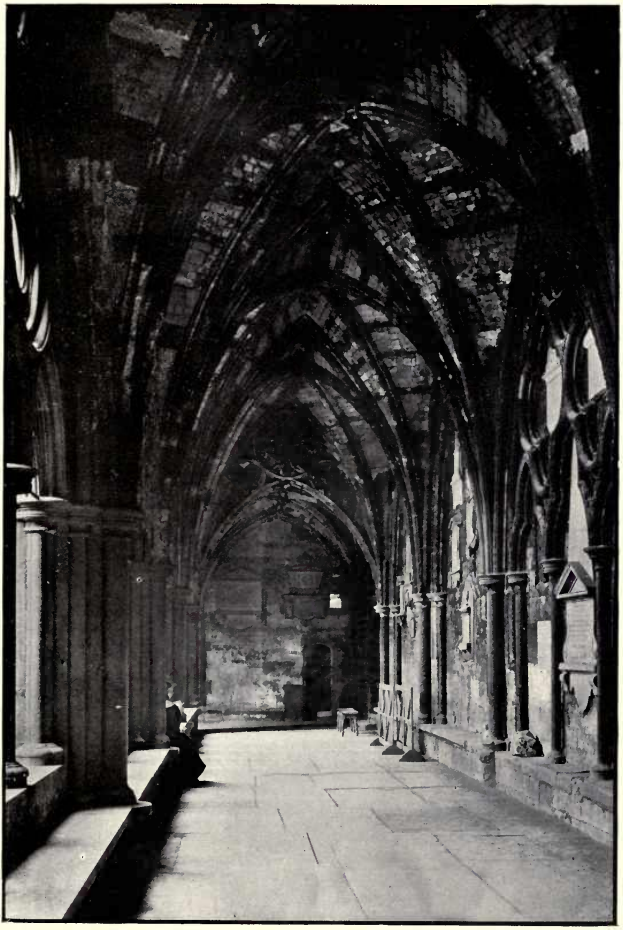
It is a startling contrast to turn from the roar of London traffic to the solemn silences of Westminster Abbey; at one step we have passed from modern England, thick set with public-houses as once it was with churches, into the Middle Ages. We are in the presence of one of the noblest works of humanity, so vast in scale and majesty that it seems hardly conceivable that it can have been planned and built by the pigmy man who walks beneath; it seems not built by mortal man for mortal men; man is overpowered by his own work. How was it that our fathers could build thus? Why did they build churches so numerous, and why churches so vast in scale? England held but a little people when this church was built. Yet in the England of the thirteenth century churches existed, not in hundreds but in thousands; there were nearly ten thousand churches in England in the thirteenth century. And of these churches very many were of such vast dimensions as have only been equalled once or twice since in England. Even in the eleventh century there were set out churches that are among the largest in Europe—St Alban's, Winchester, Ely, and many others. And not only were these English folk good and religious to an extent which modern people are wholly unable to realise or appreciate, but they seem to have been as much more clever than ourselves as they were more pious and devout. When modern architects designed the New Law Courts, Truro Cathedral, and the Houses of Parliament—the last perhaps the noblest building in modern Europe—they had no ideas of their own; all they could do was to imitate the work of their predecessors, the builders of the Middle Ages. Only by the builders of ancient Greece were the achievements of the mediæval craftsmen equalled; nor need a Gothic minster shrink from comparison even with the Parthenon, with its windowless walls and paltry roof of wood, with a hole in the roof to admit light, or a roof that was all hole.



Exterior from West

When the numerous and lovely churches of old England were built, they were not built as we build churches nowadays. If we are asked now to subscribe to the erection of a new church, be sure that the circular will say that it is to accommodate a congregation of 400, 600, or whatever the number may be; in other words, it is built for the use of man. That was not the primary intent of the old churchbuilders. Their first idea was that they were not building for man; that they were building a Sanctuary wherein their God should dwell, where day by day for ever prayer and praise should rise to Him, where day by day there should ever be renewed the holy mystery of the change of the creatures of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. At this great sacrament, congregation or no congregation, the priest of the church officiated. If people chose to attend, there was the nave to shelter them. In a village church —merely a chancel and an unaisled nave, such as thousands of them at first were—all the quire that could normally be got together for such services was the parish priest and the parish clerk. They did their best no doubt. Sometimes, however, *e.g.*, at Maidstone, it was thought that there might be a better quire than this, and moreover a larger number of daily services. So two, four, twenty, fifty priests—as many as could be afforded—were put in; and churches with colleges of priests, and with quires enlarged to accommodate them, arose; such as All Saints', Maidstone; St George's, Windsor; St Mary Overie, Southwark; St Paul's Cathedral. In all this there is nothing very unfamiliar; go to any of the above, except Maidstone, and there will still be found a community of priests, called Canons, and forming what is known as the Dean and Chapter, whose primary duty is to read the services and lessons and sing or say the psalms and offices. These functions, for their better performance, ever since plainsong gave place to pricksong, have been delegated, with small exception, to deputies in the form of Vicars Choral (Minor Canons) and paid singers, men and boys. The chief function left to them is that each shall attend all services. But as they have paid deputies to do their work, they do not always attend.

In the Middle Ages this lax system was not originally contemplated. In the first place, the priests were forbidden to marry, and so they had not domestic distractions to keep them from church; secondly, the music was plainsong, such as could be rendered by men's voices. And to make it easy for the Canons to attend the services, they were housed near the church. Sometimes, as at St Paul's, Salisbury, and Wells, the Canons had each a house of his own near the church, as they



North Cloister from East

have to this day. Sometimes, as at St Mary Overie, Southwark, and St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, they all lived together in a Clergy House, though they did not call it a Clergy House. They had a common dining-room, a common dormitory, and had "studies" in a common cloister (31); they lived very much as boys live nowadays in a public school on the hostel system, such as Wellington or Marlborough. Here, in or round the cloister, they were close at hand and could pass straight into church for the various services. They formed the residential quire of the church. In many churches this permanent quire was very large. We may form some idea of its size by counting the number of stalls that were put up for its accommodation, *e.g.*, in Lincoln or Beverley Minster; frequently the quire contains sixty stalls or more.

But so far we have not spoken of the arrangements at Westminster. So far as the housing of the Westminster quire goes, the arrangements were the same as at Southwark and Smithfield, only that the group of buildings went by the name of monastery. The great difference, and a strange difference it seems to us, is, that with the exception of two or three priests to officiate at Mass, the whole of the occupants of the Westminster stalls were originally *laymen*. This was in accordance with the intent of St Benedict, who founded the Order of Benedictine Monks in the sixth century.* These residential quires of laymen are what are known by the name of Monks. There were several varieties of them: Benedictines, Cluniacs, who were Reformed Benedictines, Carthusians, Cistercians. The Benedictines wore black robes, and so are sometimes styled the Black Monks. The head of the community was called Abbot, and the whole establishment an Abbey. This church at Westminster from the tenth century to the Dissolution was served by Benedictine monks.

These monasteries or communities of laymen had a totally different origin from the Canons Regular spoken of above. Monasticism grew up out of the ancient hermit or anchorite system.† Men found that it was impossible to live a good life in a Pagan world with its temptations and even compulsion to evil, and withdrew themselves to desert solitudes, that through mortification of the body evil might no more have dominion over them. It was no ignoble ideal. At the same time it was

* He was by no means fond of priests, and says, "If any priest supplicate to be admitted, he is not to be received too readily; and if admitted, he is not to be allowed to give himself airs."

† On Early Monasticism see the Introduction to the *Lausiac History of Palladius*, by Abbot Butler.

not the highest of ideals, for it was not altruistic; the hermit cared not for others' evil plight; he was absorbed in his own. The same ideal, carried out in more systematic and orderly fashion, was that of the first monasteries; and it remained long a primary motive for the foundation of monasteries. Such communities of laymen, striving after goodness of life, naturally found help in the services of the Church; and services were provided for them in a monastic chapel.

In one Order of monks, the Carthusian, the chapel was but a small one; adequate and not more than adequate for a congregation of 20, 40, 50 monks. But in the other great Orders, the Benedictine, the Cluniac, the Cistercian, the monastic chapel was often on a vast scale; at Westminster it is over 500 feet, at Glastonbury it was nearly 600 feet long. What was the object of building such enormous chapels as these? The scanty band of monks, seldom more than 50 or 60, must have been lost in their vast solitudes. The reason seems to be that the monks had largely grown out of the old ideal; that it had been superseded, never wholly, but in large measure, by the ideals of the Canons. The old conception of the object which actuated the founders of monasteries was that a number of people gathered together, and to help them in their endeavour towards a good life seven services a day were provided, and a chapel built for these services. Such a theory however quite fails to account for the foundation of monasteries by people who were not monks themselves. How can it be said that Edward the Confessor or Henry the Third or Henry the Seventh built or endowed Westminster Abbey to enable not themselves—there would have been some sense in that—but certain other folks to lead a holy life? Plainly their primary meaning and intention was to present to God an acceptable offering, that so if it might be He might reward them in mercy. This offering took the shape of a chain of ever recurring worship, seven daily offices in addition to Matins at night and High Mass by day. For these services a church was built, commensurate not to the little band of monks* who sat within its stalls, but to the majesty of Him whose earthly abode it was; and for the due performance of these services a residential quire was provided, a quire of laymen from whose lips prayer and chant should rise unceasingly till time should be no more. Then, to the intent that none should serve in the Lord's House unworthily,

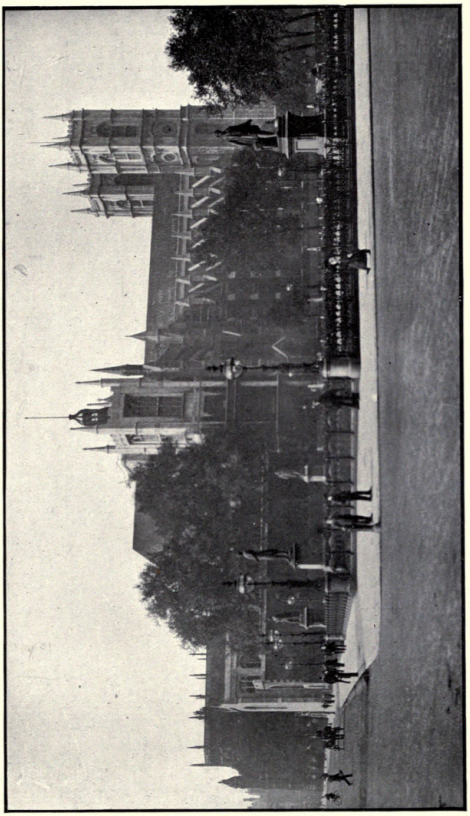
* St Dunstan brought in 12 monks to Westminster; in 1339 there were 49; in 1347 there were 52; in 1392 about 47; in the quire stalls there was accommodation for 64; in the Chapter House for 80. At the Dissolution there were not 30 monks.

strict rules were laid down for holy living. In all communities whether of monks or canons, an oath of poverty, chastity, and obedience was exacted; the wide world had to be exchanged for the cloister's narrow walk; occupation was provided for every moment of spare time; meals were few and far between; the food was of the simplest, sometimes consisting only of vegetables and water; there were frequent fasts; and lest the flesh should still wax too robust, there were blood-lettings at regular and not too distant intervals. In the early and better days of monasticism this rule or code of life very generally was faithfully observed. Monks and canons who lived their lives under a Rule were styled in those days "The Religious" *par excellence;* the term was not applied to parish priests or to canons of such Collegiate or Cathedral churches as St George's, Windsor, or St Paul's, London, who lived as they liked, just as they do now, each in his own house, eating what he chose and when he chose, and talking at meals. It was not such people who sang God's praises at Westminster, but monks; and the object of all the rules and regulations of this Westminster house was to ensure as far as possible that those who prayed and sang in the Westminster church should be men of good and holy living.

But though such thought and care was devoted to the promotion of goodness of life, yet that was not the main object of such abbeys as Westminster; the monastery did not condition the church, but the church the monastery. And so the Orders of Laymen practically came round to the ideals of the Orders of Canons; and ever year by year the distinctions between them grew fainter and fainter, till in the end it becomes difficult to see any real difference between monk and regular canon. More and more of the monks became priests; in the end every monk became a priest. So important was it thought at Westminster that they should do so, that a dispensation was obtained enabling Westminster monks to enter holy orders at the age of twenty-one, *i.e.*, before the canonical age. Later on still, we shall find that just as the monks had become assimilated to Canons Regular, such as the Augustinians of Southwark, so ultimately they became assimilated to Canons Secular, such as those of St Paul's.*

It may now be asked, perhaps, what of the general public? what part or lot have they in this great church of Westminster? The general public must make up its mind that such churches as Westminster were not built for such as they; or at any rate only to a very limited extent. If the general

* See page 296.



Westminster Abbey and St Margaret's Church

public wanted to be able to worship at any moment they chose, or to be married, or to be christened, or to be buried, they built a church of their own and went there. Westminster folks were expected to go to St Margaret's church, which was built for that purpose hard by (35). So at Bury St Edmund's there are two great churches built in the monks' precinct for the townsmen; but little of the abbey church was open to them, and that not at all times, and then only by favour. It is no use to look at mediæval churches through modern spectacles; things were not then as they are now. Nowadays, if we see a large modern church, we know that it was built for a large congregation; and if we see a small church, that it is for a small congregation. Paradoxical as it may seem, the largest mediæval churches were built for the smallest congregations. When Westminster Abbey church was built, it was probably not contemplated that the regular congregation would ever reach a hundred. It may seem incredible that a church 511 feet long, 100 feet high, and that cost a million of money, should have been built for a congregation normally under sixty in number. The fact is—and unless it is grasped, it is impossible to understand Westminster or any of the greater churches here or abroad—they were built not for man, but for God; and they were built for quiremen and not for the general public. This is not mere conjecture. If we take our stand in the centre of the church and look westward, what do we see? All the three eastern bays or divisions of the nave are filled with stalls, and at the end of them a screen runs across (162). This has been so ever since the church was built. Moreover there was formerly yet another screen, the Rood screen, still further to the west. Only the part of the church which was west of that Rood screen was open to laymen who wished to worship in the abbey church. It was here, attached to the centre of the Rood screen, as may still be seen at St Alban's, that the special altar for the laity was, the altar of the Holy Cross. The many daily services in the eastern part of the church were forbidden to laymen; fragments might float over the barriers now and then; but they were debarred by the two great screens from seeing anything. And even in the western bays of the nave they had no independent or exclusive right; they were only there by grace; at times the monks used this part of the church also; *e.g.*, in the great Sunday procession it was here that they made some of their "stations." This then is a second thing which must be borne in mind if it be desired to understand Westminster Abbey or any of the monastic or cathedral churches, viz., that they were built with very little reference to what lay folk wanted or did not want.

CHAPTER V

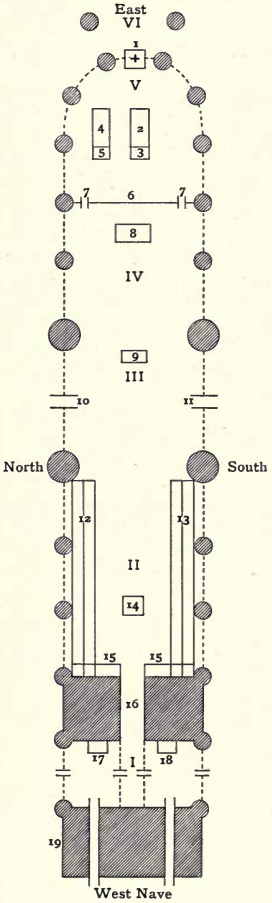
PECULIARITIES OF THE PLAN OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

LET us look now at the plan of the church more in detail. The first thing that strikes one is its complexity; the second is how unsuitable it is for modern congregational worship; perhaps it may strike one later on how admirably it is suited for what was its actual purpose. To understand the real nature of the planning, it must be remembered that the requirements of several different sets of people had to be borne in mind. These were the monks, the king and his court, whose royal chapel it was, pilgrims who wished to see the altars, shrines, and monuments, and lay folk who wished to say their prayers in the nave. All these people had to be accommodated; and it had, moreover, to be arranged that the monks should not be interfered with in passing to and from the quire, the sacristy, and the cloister by pilgrims or the general public (13).

The data by means of which we may hope to reconstitute the original plan and use of the church are as follows; some of them common to all the great monastic churches, some peculiar to Westminster. The chief are the positions of screens, gates, altars, and doorways. The central member of the whole church, here as in all the greater churches, is the inner chapel of the monks, in which their seven daily services, with others, were held; at Westminster, its chief altar is dedicated to St Peter (38). This, the monastic chapel, was screened off on all sides. Three doorways led into it; one, as at present, through the centre of the quire screen to the west, and one from each transept; these latter were the north and south doors of the presbytery or sanctuary, *ostia presbyterii*. In this part of the church the monks had four altars in the thirteenth century, to which another was added in the following century; in the space between the quire screen and the rood screen they had two more. So far the arrangements are fairly normal (see page 44).

When, however, we turn to the transepts, several things are to be seen which are anything but normal. If we turn to the plan on page 13 (one often learns more from a plan than from

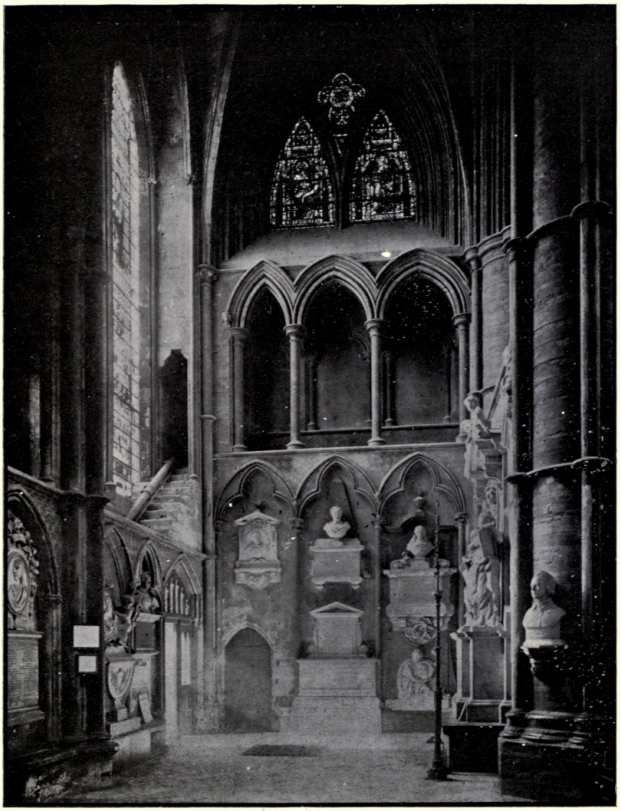
the actual church), it will be seen that the transepts are very strangely arranged. In the first place, the western aisle of the south transept is boxed off with low walls. What is inside? Inside is the northern part of the east walk of the cloister. The Norman cloister stood precisely where the present one does, as the plans shew; but the Norman south transept had no western aisle. Consequently when Henry III. rebuilt the south transept *with* a western aisle, the east walk of the cloister had to be put inside this new aisle, if it was to be retained.



Plan of St Peter's Chapel

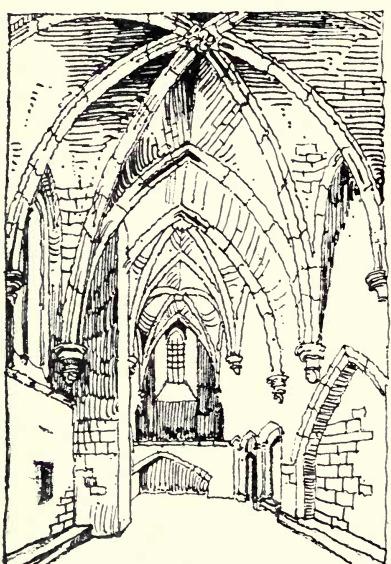
Secondly, the disposition of chapels in the two transepts is very eccentric. In the *eastern* aisle of the south transept there were no chapels, though an eastern aisle is peculiarly suitable for altars (39). In the northern transept, on the other hand, the whole of the eastern aisle is filled up with chapels, but, though there is a *western* aisle, there are no altars in it.

Now go round the church and look at the doorways. The church is entered by the double doorway of the north transept, by far the most imposing in the church; more so than even that of the west front (43). It is flanked by two smaller doorways; that on the west has a doorway which led into the west aisle of the transept; that on the east is not pierced with a doorway. It may be thought that this is because it would have led into a chapel only. But the odd thing is that just round the corner there actually *is* a door-



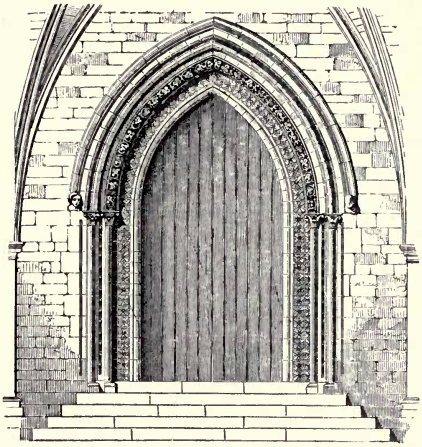
Eastern Aisle of South Transept

way, leading from the east into St Andrew's chapel. It is a broad and important doorway; and so desirable was it thought to have this doorway, and to have it just here, that this chapel was made 2 feet 4 inches broader than the chapel to the south, to make room for it; but it still seriously restricted the dimensions of St Andrew's chapel. Now proceed along the north side of the nave, and another doorway will be found, quite small (128). Nowadays it leads merely from the north aisle on to a lawn. But under the grass have been found foundations* of a long narrow building parallel to the north aisle and extending back to the north transept; it must have been about 90 feet long. Like the cloister of Salisbury, it was separated from the aisle wall by a small courtyard, so as not wholly to block the light of the aisle windows. Now Westminster was full of treasures—vestments, tapestry, reliquaries, missals, shrines, altar plate, &c.—and in 1250 Henry III. gave orders for a sacristy to be built, 120 feet long. There were already two sacristies. One of them, called the Revestry, opens out of the south transept; it is quite narrow and its east end is occupied by the altar of St Faith; it is far too small to have been the principal sacristy of so important a church as that of Westminster; it seems, indeed, to have been reserved for the Abbot when he was about to officiate at High Mass (40). In

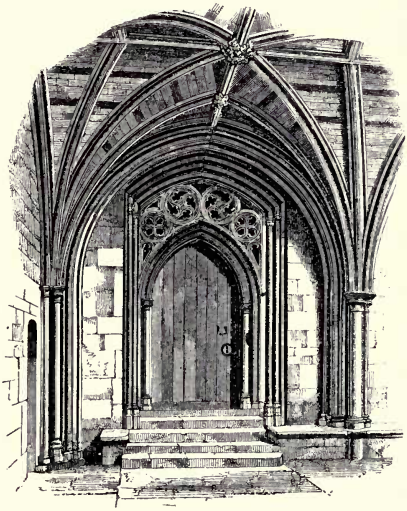


Revestry

* For plan and description of these by Henry Poole, the Abbey mason, see *Archæological Journal*, xxvii. 120.



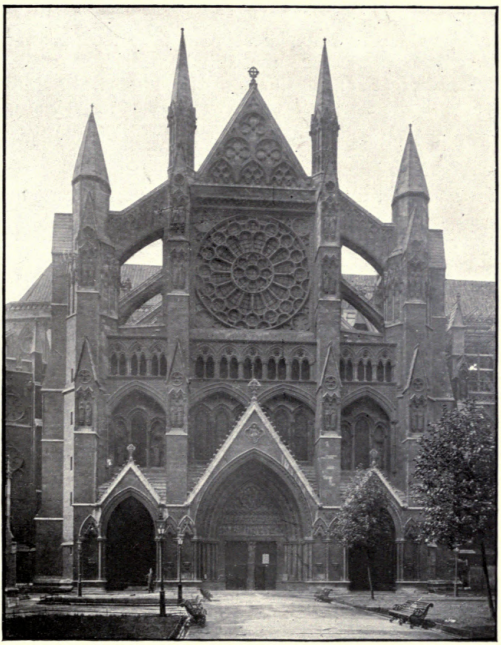
East Cloister Doorway



West Cloister Doorway

the east walk of the cloister is another sacristy, now the Chapel of the Pyx; but it was rather a treasury than a sacristy (17). It was probably because of the inadequacy of these arrangements that Henry determined to have a new sacristy with plenty of room for vestments and the like. Where, then, was it to be? The normal position of a large sacristy is next to the wall of the eastern limb of a church, *e.g.*, at Durham and Lincoln. But at Westminster the quire was not in the crossing or in the eastern limb, but in the nave. Therefore, if placed near the nave, as at Chichester, it would be placed conveniently. As for the discrepancy between the foundations found north of the nave, which are 90 feet long, and the prescribed 120 feet, that is explicable by the fact that near the east end of the foundations there are remains of two staircases. The building therefore was two stories high, and the two stories give more than the length required. When this large sacristy was built in 1250, the north aisle of the nave was still that of the twelfth century, and no doubt only a rough, temporary doorway was cut through it to give access to the sacristy. It was not till this bay of the aisle was rebuilt much later that the present doorway was inserted.

Now, passing on to the west front, it is important to notice that we do not find the usual three doorways, but only one doorway, and that not so spacious as the central one in the north transept (29). Next come three small doorways, the central of which, below the Abbot's pew, leads to what seems to have been Abbot Islip's private chapel, and is probably a reproduction of an ancient doorway (53). Next comes a large and fine doorway of late fourteenth-century date, leading from the *west* walk of the cloister into the south aisle of the nave (41). Further on is another large and beautiful doorway, leading into the same aisle from the *east* walk of the cloister (41). In the south-western corner of the south transept, now blocked by the monument to a Duke of Argyll, is a high doorway, from which, as the old plans show, the transept was reached by a staircase of wood. A few feet to the east, is the doorway into the Revestry (12). If now we enter the Revestry, we shall see at its west end a sort of stone bridge (40); and, if we look closely, we shall see doorways at either end of it. Across this bridge the monks passed from their dormitory and down the corkscrew staircase into the transept and quire for the services in the middle of the night. The next doorway leads down to the crypt beneath the Chapter House, as well as to a staircase leading to the wall-passage in the aisle, and to the triforium and the roof (12). Close to it is another doorway, fairly important, leading from Poets' Corner into the open air (39).



North Transept

So much for the doorways. There are also several iron gates across the aisles. There are two spots where gates can be proved to have existed in mediæval days. It can be proved from the remains of the ancient pavement that there were always gates just as at present at the entrance to the north and south ambulatory, and that they were in their present irregular position; the south gate one bay more to the east than is the north gate (12).

Now let us see how far these data take us. How far was the plan of the present church suitable for the requirements (1) of the monks, (2) of pilgrims, (3) of the general public, (4) of Royalty, (5) of the King's Treasurer? We cannot hope to prove throughout that the church was used precisely as we suggest; we may however hope to show that if the parts of the church were used as suggested, the arrangements would have been very convenient for all the classes of people enumerated above.*

* The following are the divisions of the central chapel shewn on page 38:—

I. The Screens. 19. Rood screen. 16. Quire screen. 17. Altar of Our Lady. 18. Altar of Holy Trinity.
II. Quire. 12. Northern stalls. 13. Southern stalls. 15. Return stalls. 14. Lectern.
III. Lower Sanctuary. 9. Matins altar. 10, 11. Ostia presbyterii.
IV. Raised Sanctuary. 8. High altar. 6. Reredos. 7, 7. Doors into St Edward's chapel.
V. St Edward's Chapel. 2, 3. Shrine and altar. 1. Earlier relic cupboard and altar. 4, 5. Later relic cupboard and altar.
VI. Henry the Fifth's Chantry Chapel.

CHAPTER VI

PLANNING FOR THE MONKS. (First Part)

We will start first with the requirements of the monks. What they wanted was an enclosed central chapel with altars; and it had to be easy of access from both the sacristies, and from the east walk of the cloister, and from their dormitory. Moreover they wanted some dozen small chapels in addition; outside St Peter's chapel, but at the same time capable of being shut off from the laity. First let us look at their own special chapel (38). It consisted of six parts: (1) the space between the screens; (2) the quire; (3) the lower sanctuary; (4) the raised sanctuary; (5) St Edward's chapel; to which was added in the fourteenth century (6) Henry V.'s chantry chapel of the Annunciation.

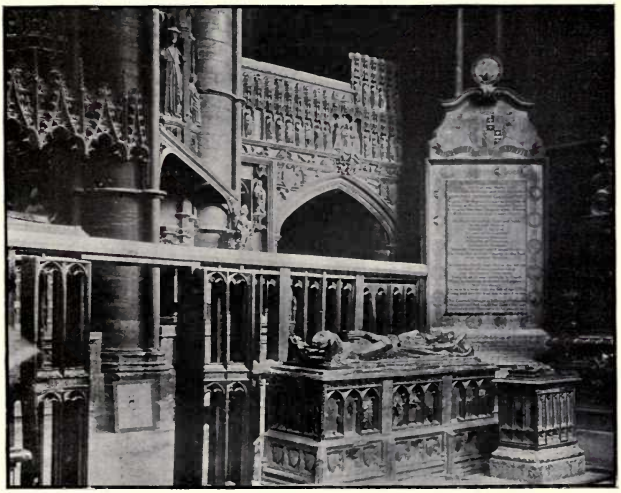
(1) The space between the quire screen and the rood screen was usually utilised to accommodate two altars, one on either side of the central doorway in the quire screen; at Westminster the northern of these was probably the altar dedicated to Our Lady, where now is the monument to Sir Isaac Newton (311); the southern would be that dedicated to the Holy Trinity, where now is the monument of Lord Stanhope. In front of each of these altars would be fence screens occupying part or the whole of the bay, with a central passage east and west.* By this passage between the screens vested priests could pass direct from the nave sacristy into the quire. When attending day services, the monks would pass from the east walk of the cloister to the south presbytery door, and so to their stalls: while for the night services they would descend across the platform of the revestry, into the south transept, and as before by the south presbytery door to their stalls.

(2) Next let us look into the quire; and, first, take away the front row or rows of seats and desks, which originally would not be there; that leaves a very broad gangway. It was in these stalls that the monks sat at the regular services. The

* In the plans on pages 38 and 12 alternative arrangements of this space are suggested. In the first plan the rood screen occupies the whole bay; in the second, only half the bay.

The Sanctuary

services were at times very long—the quire might have to stand for an hour or two during the singing, *e.g.*, of the penitential psalms, and to give the monks a little support while standing, the seats or misericords were kindly provided with hinges, so that, without ceasing to stand, the occupant of the stall might nevertheless obtain some slight support when the seat was turned up, from the small ledge underneath it. In a parish church the benches of the nave were set north and south so as to give a good view of the celebrant at the High Altar. In a



View from St Edmund's Chapel

monastic church this could not be done, because there had to be found room for a great lectern in the middle of the quire. Moreover room had to be left for various processions during the offices from the altar to the lectern and to the stalls. The stalls therefore were arranged east and west, facing one another. But at the west end there were return stalls for the abbot and prior (now occupied by the dean and subdean) and these return stalls did face east (*cf.* Henry the Seventh's chapel, page 131).

(3) Then the monks needed a quire altar, so that the High

Altar might be reserved for the more important offices. This quire altar is spoken of as the "medium altare" at Worcester, the "parvum altare in choro" at Bury St Edmund's, the "altare in choro" at Ely, the "minus altare" at Rochester. At Westminster it is referred to several times in the *Consuetudines* of Abbot Ware (1258-1283); sometimes as the "altare matutinale," sometimes as the "altare chori," sometimes as the "parvum altare."* We know that it stood in the crossing, for in an indenture made with Abbot Islip by Henry VII. just before his death it is stipulated that daily mass and divine service shall be said by "thre chaunt'y monks at the Aultier under the lantern place betwene the Quere and the high aultier." The crossing therefore formed an additional sanctuary. It was at a higher level than now, being approached from the quire by three steps; the reredos of its altar would be low, so as not to obstruct the view of the High Altar (38).

(4) As for the High Altar, in order that it might be well seen, in the first place the stalls were not set on the pavement of the quire, but were raised considerably above it; and, secondly, its sanctuary, where the *opus alexandrinum* is, was made higher than the sanctuary of the quire altar, being approached from it by two steps. Moreover, the High Altar was raised above the *opus alexandrinum* on a platform of its own. The eastern sanctuary retains its original level; but, owing to the lowering of the western sanctuary, is now approached by a steep flight of steps.

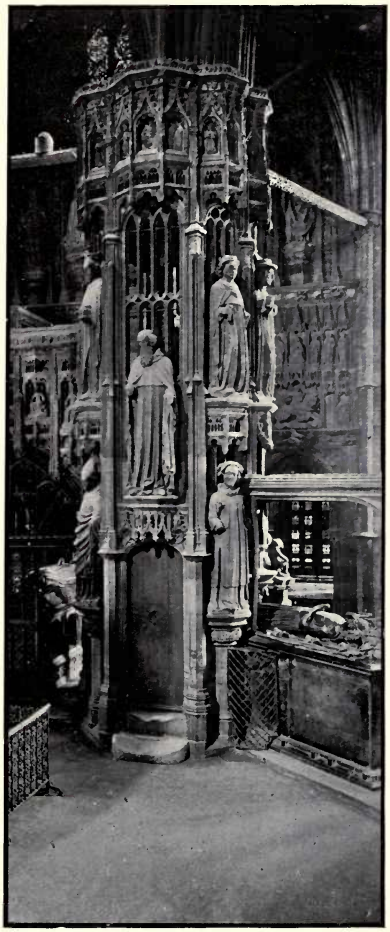
(5) Behind the High Altar, at a still higher level, was placed the new shrine of St Edward, to which his bones were translated in 1269 (22). The present reredos (the front of it is modern) was not erected till *c.* 1400; before that date the reredos was no doubt quite low, so as not to obstruct the view of the great shrine (23). For services in St Edward's chapel an altar was attached to the western end of the shrine; the present altar is modern. Owing to the veneration felt for St Edward this chapel became the mausoleum of the Plantagenet dynasty.

(6) Up to 1422 the eastern recess of St Edward's chapel, now occupied by the tomb of Henry V. (47), was filled by the great Reliquary or Relic Cupboard of the Abbey, and at the west end of the Reliquary was an altar. When the Reliquary

* An abbot on his election is to kiss "parvum altare et magnum in choro" (Ware, 8). On Rogation Days caskets of relics were placed on the Matins altar; "reliquiarum philacteriae super altare matutinale posita sunt" (Ware, 62). When mass is to be celebrated at the Quire altar, the subsacrist is to get it ready. "Subsacrista parabit (altare chori) quociens ad illud missa celebrabitur" (Ware, 55).

was removed in 1422 to the space between St Edward's shrine and Henry the Third's tomb, it still retained its altar.

(7) When there came to the throne "King Harry the Fifth, too famous to live long," this chapel was completely encircled, as we see it now, by the tombs of Plantagenet kings and queens. But Henry was most anxious that his bones also should rest here, and in his will drawn up at Southampton, before he started for Agincourt, he made precise arrangements for the construction of a chantry chapel as near as might be to St Edward's shrine. The only space left was that occupied by the great Reliquary, which, as we have seen, was removed, and the King was buried on its site. The problem was to provide the chantry chapel which the King wished to have. The difficulty was got over by building a bridge across the ambulatory, and constructing the chapel high in the air on the bridge.



Henry the Fifth's Chantry Chapel

Henry left an endowment for three monks to say masses for him daily in this chapel, the altar of which he dedicated to the Annunciation. It is approached by two staircases (49). On either side of the reredos and in the side walls are large lockers,* with hinges remaining for flap doors; the rest of each side wall is occupied with stone benches on which once stood wooden cupboards or presses (51). Moreover the precious shrine of St Edward was immediately below to the west (162); and there can be little doubt that the chapel was also utilised as a watching loft. Properly understood, therefore, it is at once the Chapel of the Annunciation, Henry V.'s Chantry Chapel, a Relic Chamber, and a Watching Loft.† Its construction must have been a great improvement to the monastic chapel, adding as it did a relic chamber and a watching loft.

Looking back at the arrangements of the monks' chapel as a whole—the screens, the quire, the sanctuaries, the chapels of St Edward and the Annunciation, one cannot but admire the care and thought and success of the planning. And it was as great an artistic as it was a practical success. The vista eastward from the quire must have been magnificent before the great reredos was erected behind the High Altar. Up to that time, sitting in the stalls, one saw first the low quire altar in the crossing; secondly, well above it, the High Altar; at the back of the High Altar the imposing shrine of St Edward; and further back and higher still, the statued turrets and parapets of the chapel of the Annunciation.

So far we have spoken only of the monks' services inside St Peter's chapel. But arrangements had to be made also for services outside the chapel; both processional and other. Processions were in great favour in the English churches; parish churches, conventual and collegiate churches alike. In a monastic or cathedral church the great procession was that on Sunday morning before High Mass, in the course of which all the altars in the church and the precincts were aspersed, and

* "On the walls are Presses of Wainscot, with Shelves and folding Doors, very neat, six in all; viz. four on each side wall, and one smaller on each side of the altar" (Dart., i. 63).

† It was customary at Westminster in the thirteenth century for at least four monks and a secretary to lie in the church at night: "quattuor autem fratres ad minus una cum secretario in ecclesia pro consuetudine jacere solebant." One of them was to be the Sacrist; and he was bound to assign one of them specially to guard the High Altar and the relics; "tutelae magni altaris et reliquiarum assignare" (Ware, 52). The task of this man would be much facilitated by the erection of Henry V.'s chapel. The reredos shewn in the illustration (51) retains statues of St George of England, St Edmund, St Gabriel, the Blessed Virgin, St Edward Confessor, and St Denis.

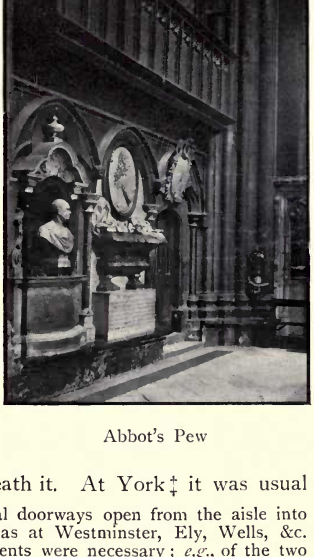
Henry the Fifth's Chantry Chapel

as it were rehallowed. The Sunday morning services were threefold; first there was the hallowing of the water; secondly, the aspersing of the altars with the hallowed water; thirdly, High Mass. From the course taken by the Sunday procession at Durham, also a Benedictine church, as minutely described in the *Rites*, we may infer the route at Westminster, as it would take place just before the Dissolution (13). The officiating priest with his attendant ministers would first asperse the High Altar, the altar of St Edward, the Relic altar and that of the Annunciation, and the Quire altar. Then he would pass through the northern door of the presbytery into the north transept, followed by the whole of the convent singing an anthem, and the altars of St Andrew, St Michael, and St John Evangelist would be aspersed. Then the route would be eastward round the ambulatory, aspersing the upper and lower Jesus altars, the altar of St Erasmus, those of St John Baptist and St Paul, the altars in the Lady chapel and its aisles, and those of St Nicholas, St Edmund, and St Benedict; next, the altar of St Blase in the south transept, and of St Faith in the revestry. Then the procession would pass into the south aisle of the nave, and enter the cloister by the doorway which leads into the *eastern* walk (41). The eastern, southern, and western walks would be visited in turn, and the chapter house, dormitory, common house, frater, &c., would be aspersed. At the north end of the west walk another doorway leads into the church (41). Through this *western* doorway the procession would pass, and form in double line along the central axis of the nave; then the whole of the altars in the nave would be aspersed while the principal station was made in front of the rood screen, and the Bidding prayer was said, followed by the Lord's Prayer, and prayers for the dead. In order to accommodate the double file, the rood screen always has *two* doorways, as at St Alban's; through these the procession filed into the space between the screens, and the two altars of St Mary and Holy Trinity were aspersed; finally, forming into single file, the procession passed through the *single* central doorway of the quire screen, and all entered their respective stalls, and High Mass began.

The route taken by the Sunday procession throws much light on the disposition of the doorways. The north door of the presbytery was wanted for the procession to pass out into the north transept. And of the two doorways always found between a nave and cloister, and usually erroneously called the Prior's and Monks' doorways, the eastern one is that by which the procession passed out of the church into the cloister, and the western that by which it re-entered

the church;* while the rood screen had two doorways for procession in double file, and the quire screen a single doorway for procession in single file.

Another very important procession took place on Palm Sunday. Litlyngton's missal does not give the ceremonies of the procession; but the custom of blessing the palms, and carrying round the Blessed Sacrament in procession on Palm Sunday was very widely spread in England, and moreover seems to have had its origin in a Benedictine house; it is therefore a very likely opinion that it was practised at Westminster.† It had indeed been in use in the Anglo-Saxon Church as early as the days of Bishop Aldhem; and St Dunstan set out the ceremonial at great length. This procession passed out of doors, and made a station outside in front of the great door of the nave, which at Westminster was the west door. The door itself was closed; and for a time half the quire within the church and half the quire without sang antiphonally. At last the door was opened, and the priests entered and lifted high above their heads the canopied Blessed Sacrament, and all entered the church passing beneath it. At York‡ it was usual



Abbot's Pew

* Normally these two processional doorways open from the aisle into the adjoining walk of the cloister, as at Westminster, Ely, Wells, &c. Sometimes, however, other arrangements were necessary; *e.g.*, of the two doorways into the Canterbury cloister the eastern one opens from the transept, while the western one in the nave opens into a passage leading to the west end of the cloister walk. In the Benedictine abbey of Milton, Dorset, the quire and transept had been completed, but the nave had not been commenced at the Dissolution, and the two processional doorways are in the north aisle of the quire.

† J. W. Legg, *Inventory of 1388*, page 84.

‡ "Cum autem ad portas urbis vel ostium occidentale ecclesie perventum fuerit, ibi ordinata processione, incipiat cantor, R. *Collegerunt pontifices.* Finito reingressu, pueri in altum supra ostium ecclesie canant versum *Gloria, laus.* Chorus cum genuflexione dicat *Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit*" (Rock's *Church of Our Fathers*, iv. 270).

to erect a temporary platform inside the nave over the door, for the boys to sing the *Gloria, laus*. At Westminster in the second bay from the west is a projecting balcony in the south aisle of the nave (53). It was put up by Abbot Islip when he built what is probably a private chapel behind it. At that time the western nave was being finished, and he may well have erected it for the use of the semi-choir in the Palm Sunday procession, which by now would be able to enter the nave by the new west door. The balcony goes by the name of the "Abbot's Pew." It should be compared with the Minstrels' galleries at Winchester and Exeter, which occupy somewhat similar positions in the nave.*

* Minute particulars as to the processions on the vigils of the principal feasts, and of the Palm Sunday procession, are given in the late fourteenth century Custumal of the Benedictine abbey of Peterborough, preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace (*Victoria History of Northants*, vol. ii.). In the accounts of St Mary at Hill, London, there are payments in 1519 "for the scaffold over the porch against Palm Sunday," and in 1524 "for the frame over the north door of the church which is for the prophets on Palm Sunday."

CHAPTER VII

PLANNING FOR THE MONKS. (SECOND PART)

CHAPELS AND ALTARS

THE chapels and altars enumerated above by no means exhaust the list. Many more than these were required in a great monastic church. In the early days almost all the monks were laymen. Later on, almost all, if not all, took priest's orders. Now every priest was expected to say mass once a day; * and in a convent like Westminster a large number of altars was required for this purpose. In addition to this there was another powerful motive for the multiplication of altars and chapels; viz., the desire to obtain the intercession of the saints; as to which the language of Henry VII.'s will may be referred to (page 129). The High Altar at Westminster was dedicated to St Peter; but there were many other saints whose aid it might be wished to invoke. For them therefore it was desired to provide altars and, if possible, chapels. Sometimes there was but an altar with a fence screen round it; sometimes the altar had a whole chapel to itself; sometimes on the other hand there was neither chapel nor altar, but merely a light kept burning before a statue or a "table" or a fresco of some saint. For one reason or the other a large number of altars was required in a church of the first rank. At Westminster the number was well below the average rather than above it.

From various sources it is possible to draw up a fairly complete list of the altars at Westminster. It is not so easy to make certain of the grounds for this particular selection; why one saint was preferred, and another left out. It is to be remembered however that many of the saints who had altars in Henry III.'s church had altars also in the Norman church; and a few no doubt had altars in the tenth century church.

With the dedication of one chapel certainly, that of **St John**

* This is expressly stated in the *Customary of St Augustine, Canterbury*, page 39. "Omnes nostri fratres in sacerdocio constituti tenentur cotidie missas suas celebrare. . . . Quod cum liberius in Domino facere possint omnes, per priorem duo vel tres simul ad celebrandum in altaribus singulis deputentur."

the Evangelist in the north transept, we may credit Edward the Confessor. The king was met one day by a beggar who asked an alms for the love of God and St John. Edward, always generous, gave him the ring from his finger (57, 154). Many years after, two Englishmen in Palestine met a pilgrim, who, finding that they were faring for England, shewed to them the ring, and told them that he was St John Evangelist, and that they should take the ring to Edward, who six months later should die.* All which things came to pass. And "St Peter, the king's friend, opened the gate of Paradise, and St John, his own dear one, led him before the Divine Majesty." All these things are carved in stone at the back of the great reredos facing the Confessor's shrine (237). Moreover, on either side of the shrine, there once stood two pillars, the lower part of one of which remains, supporting statues of St John Evangelist in pilgrim's dress, and Edward the King holding the ring. When the Confessor's body was translated to the present shrine in 1163, the ring was withdrawn from his finger and henceforth was esteemed one of the most precious relics in the church. St John Evangelist's chapel used to be the largest in the church, and was the only double chapel till Abbot Islip walled off the eastern half of it for his chantry.

Another saint who was honoured also in the Confessor's church was **St Nicholas**: his chapel is mentioned in 1072; he was one of the most popular saints throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, a most kind-hearted and cheery old man, an especial favourite with children and sailors (214).

St John Baptist naturally was honoured with a chapel.

St Andrew perhaps owed his position to the fact that he was brother of St Peter; and his chapel was one of the smallest, the north side of it being railed off for a passage from its east doorway into the transept.

St Paul was ever associated in Christian memory with St Peter, both apostles having met their death at Rome.† St Paul was not much esteemed on his own account in the Middle Ages; only 34 churches and chapels were dedicated to him in England; whereas 740 were dedicated to St Peter, and 275 to St Peter and St Paul; not, be it noted, to St Paul and St Peter.

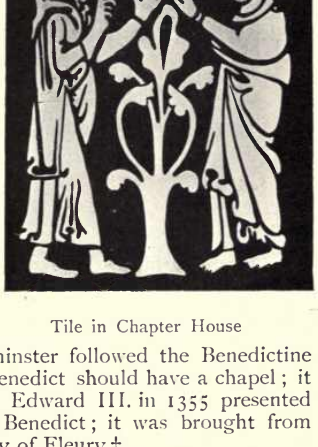
The central chapel in the north transept aisle was dedicated

* Flete says that the ring which St Edward the King gave to St John was returned to him from Paradise two years and a half afterwards (*History*, 71).

† "Cui sancto Petro data est societas beatissimi Pauli apostoli, qui non diverso sed uno tempore eodemque die in urbe Romana cum Petro sub Caesare Nerone agonizans coronatus est" (Flete's *History*, 76).

to the **Archangel Michael**, always a greater favourite than St Gabriel; perhaps because English folks like fighting, and St Michael was always fighting dragons. In the arcading on the west wall opposite there are remains of a fine thirteenth-century sculpture of St Michael and the Dragon.

Of all the Anglo-Saxon saints none was more venerated than **St Edmund**, bound to a tree and shot to death by the arrows of the Danes. Over his bones arose the vast Norman abbey of Bury St Edmund; it was in this abbey that Henry III. died. This chapel was also dedicated to the most venerated of all the English martyrs, **St Thomas of Canterbury**;* in later days the latter dedication seems to have got the better of the former; for in a manuscript of the fifteenth century the chapel is simply styled that of St Thomas the Martyr. Owing to this conjunction of two martyrs, this chapel was held in highest esteem of all after that of St Edward; and in it are buried many of royal blood.



Tile in Chapter House

St Benedict was the founder of the Benedictine Order, which possessed over a thousand monasteries in 1005; (the very number of them shews what an admirable institution monasticism in its early days was; men do not found and endow institutions in order to propagate evil). As the monks at Westminster followed the Benedictine Rule, it was natural that St Benedict should have a chapel; it was, however, but a small one. Edward III. in 1355 presented to the church the head of St Benedict; it was brought from France, probably from the abbey of Fleury.†

* Lady Alianore Bohun in her will directs that she shall be buried "in the chapel of St Edmund King and St Thomas of Canterbury." This was written before 1399. The following is a still earlier reference: "Capella B. Thomae, quae dicitur locus anticapitularis juxta chorum" (1341, Launton Pap., i., n. 7).

† It was directed that the infirm and those who had undergone blood-letting should stay in St Benedict's chapel, being too weak to endure the long periods of standing in the quire services. "Infirmi et minuti, quamvis conventus fuerit in choro, ipsi ante altare beati Benedicti morari debent" (Ware, 241).

There was, no doubt, at all times at least one altar to **Our Lady.** We hear of "the old altar of St Mary"* in the nave; and "the little altar of St Mary" in the north ambulatory. The altar in the nave is also called the altar "near the *north door.*" This has been interpreted to mean that it was an altar near the north door of the transept; what is meant probably is the northern of the two doors which, in the greater monastic churches, every Rood screen possessed; or else it is the door in the north aisle which once led to the sacristy. A more imposing chapel was built for Our Lady in 1220 at the east end of the church; this, in turn, was replaced by a still more magnificent Lady chapel, begun in 1502 by Henry VII.

At the end of the south transept a square space was screened off for the altar of **St Blase,**† patron saint of all wool-combers; an Armenian bishop, cruelly done to death with iron combs, *c.* 316 A.D.; a mode of martyrdom which greatly appealed to the mediæval imagination, always avid of "horrors." Till 1825 a "Bishop Blaize festival" with trade processions used to be held at Bradford, and a poem in his honour was recited, beginning—

> "Hail to the day whose kind, auspicious rays
> Deigned first to smile on famous Bishop Blaize."

His chapel extended as far as the doorway leading into the Revestry; its eastern wall still exists (275).‡

The east end of the vestry or revestry formed the chapel of **St Faith** (40). Above her altar is faintly visible on the east wall on bright days the figure of St Faith, holding a book and a bed, and wearing a crown, emblems of the *fides quae creditur*, and of the sufferings in store for the righteous in this present world and their reward in the world to come. Below is represented the Crucifixion. On the left is a Benedictine monk—perhaps the painter of the picture, from whose lips issues the couplet:

> "Me quem culpa gravis premit, erige, Virgo salutis;
> Fac mihi placatum Christum, deleasque reatum."§

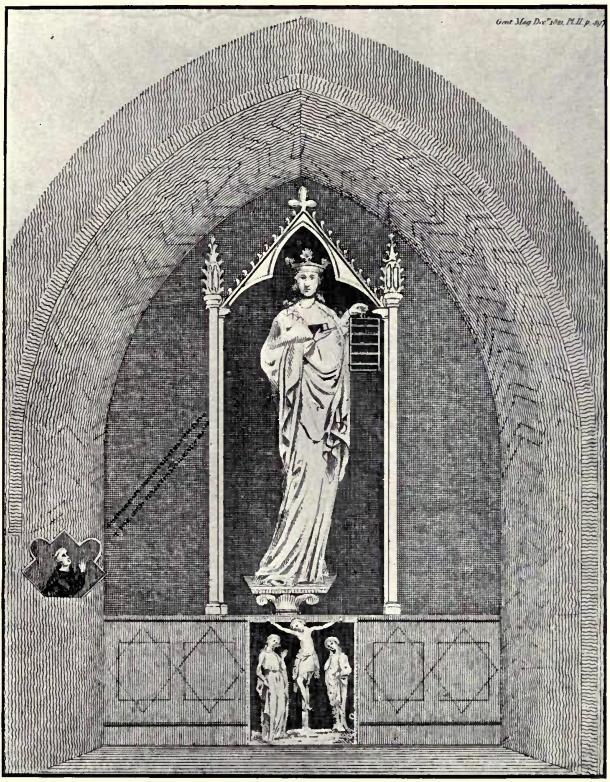
It is, says Professor Lethaby, "the most remarkable early Gothic wall-painting now remaining to us." St Faith was burnt

* "Vetus altare beatae Dei genetricis Mariae" (Ware, 46).

† See Dart, i. 64, who says that it was square and surrounded with stone walls.

‡ On it are placed the memorials of Shakespeare and others.

§ "Raise me, O Maid and Saviour, weighed down by the load of my sin; reconcile Christ to me and wash away mine iniquity." The reading is somewhat uncertain.



St Faith

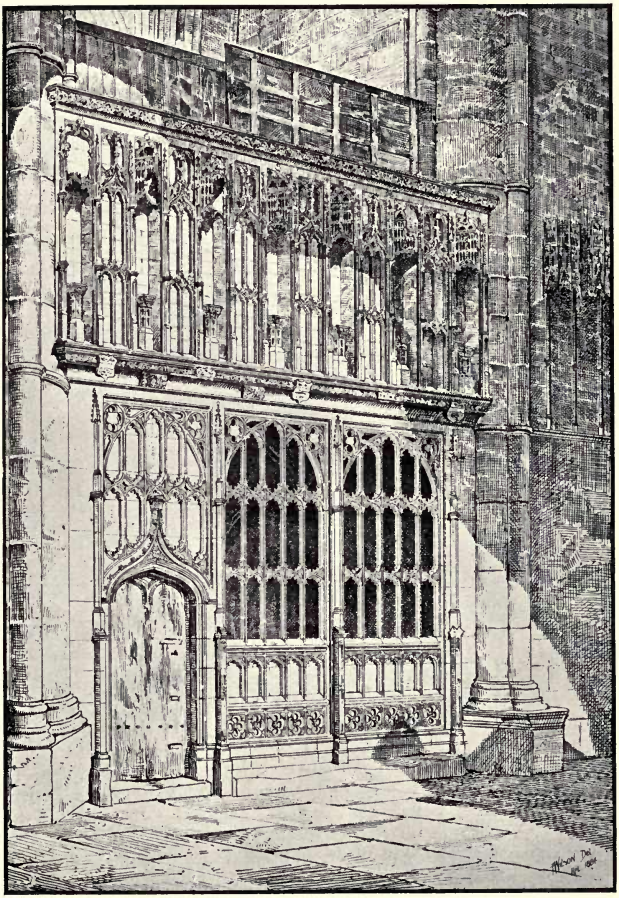
to death on a brazen bed in the third century. She is represented with bed and Bible on the brass of Prior Langley, in St Lawrence's Church, Norwich; and in one of the windows of Winchester Cathedral. Her altar at Westminster was in the charge of the Revestiarius. "Idem revestiarius altare beatae Fidis parare et hornare . . . tenetur" (Ware, 59).

In the north ambulatory is a tiny passage scooped out of the vast block of masonry between the Islip chapel and that of St John Baptist (68). It is generally supposed to be that of **St Erasmus**. He is said to have suffered death in the Diocletian persecution at Formiæ; under the appellation of St Elmo he is still invoked by Mediterranean sailors. The manner of his death made him a good subject for pictorial treatment and kept his memory alive: in a stained glass window at Lullingstone, Kent, his prostrate body is shewn lying beneath a windlass, by the winding of which the saint is being disembowelled.*

The **Jesus Chapel** in the north ambulatory stands on a different footing to the rest (61). It is the chantry chapel of Abbot Islip. Sometimes the Jesus altar, as at Durham, was in the nave, in front of the Rood screen. At Worcester there is a Jesus chapel in the north aisle of the nave; at Norwich it is in the north ambulatory, as at Westminster. Special services called "Jesus Masses" and also "Jesus Anthems" seem to have become popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; they were sung after the last service, the Compline; a description of them will be found on pages 220 and 221 of Canon Fowler's edition of the *Rites of Durham*. Abbot Islip was not satisfied to be buried like his predecessors, with no memorial save a slab or a brass in the pavement of the church or cloister, or a table-tomb like Langham's, but appropriated the eastern half or chancel of the chapel of St John Evangelist, walled it off, and inserted a floor, thus getting two chapels. In each chapel was a Jesus altar; in the lower chapel was his tomb, where masses were to be said for the repose of his soul. But as he did not die till 1532, and all chantries were suppressed in 1529, it would seem that the lower chapel can never have been much used for obits. The upper chapel is open to the nave, and an organ is known to have been placed in it; it was no doubt here aloft that the Jesus anthem was sung. In the upper chapel are now the wax effigies, described on page 258.

There is also mention of a chapel of St Martin. This is another instance of a compound dedication; it is really the chapel of **St Michael**, **St Martin**, and **All Saints**, in the eastern aisle of the north transept.

* The chapel of St Erasmus is described on page 252.



Islip's Chapel

In the greater monastic churches there were also two altars between the screens, on either side of the central doorway, backing on to the Quire Screen. These, both in Norman days and up to the Dissolution, were dedicated at Westminster respectively, the northern one, as has been said, to the **Blessed Virgin**, the southern one to the **Holy Trinity**. The story is told that it was at this latter altar that the Confessor was praying, when he saw a certain vision.*

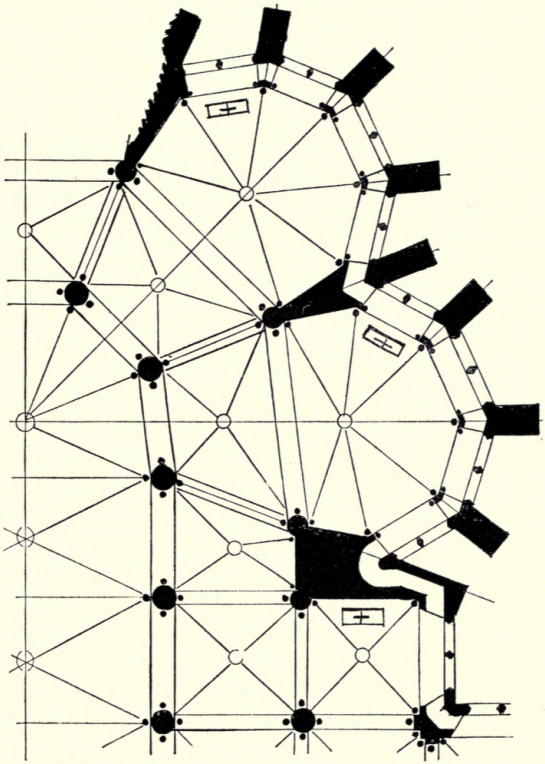
To these are to be added certain other altars in the nave: those of the **Holy Cross** and **St Helena**, and that of **St Paul and the Crucifix**. Add to these the altars already enumerated —the Quire altar, the High altar, the Relic altar, the altars of St Edward and the Annunciation, those of St Andrew, St Michael, St Martin, and All Saints, St John Evangelist, the Jesus altars, those of St Erasmus, St John Baptist, St Paul, Our Lady, the eight other altars intended to be placed in the nave and aisles of Henry VII.'s chapel (140), that of St Nicholas, that in the martyrs' chapel of St Edmund and St Thomas, those of St Benedict, St Blase, and St Faith—and it will be realised that the problem of planning the monastic part of the church was complicated in the very highest degree. What the architect had to build was in reality not one church, but more than twenty churches, all separate and distinct, but all grouped round one central enclosed church, that of St Peter, the core of them all.†

Complex and ingenious, however, as was the Westminster plan, it was one more in accordance with Continental than with English ritualistic arrangements (13). The fault of the plan from an English point of view is that the altars in the four radiating chapels of St John Baptist, St Paul, St Nicholas, and St Edmund, do not point due east. Abroad that would not have mattered; it is quite common abroad to find chapels pointing north, south, and even west. But in England, even in the eleventh century, the builders are seen at Gloucester and Norwich twisting about the radiating chapels of the ambulatory in order to get the altars if possible to face east. It is only by the resolute determination not to have skew altars that the extraordinary plan of the crypt of Winchester Cathedral,‡ set out so early as 1079, is explicable; evidently the architect started with a normal periapsidal plan like that of Norman Westminster, but he has twisted the

* Lethaby, 107.

† There were also altars not in the church. In the Infirmary the High Altar was dedicated to **St Catherine**, and one of the two side altars probably to **St Lawrence**. The altar of **St Anne** was in the Almonry, which was on the south-east side of Broad Sanctuary. There was also an altar of **St Dunstan**, which was "under the dormitory," and therefore probably was in the chapel which opened east out of the Common House. And there were two other altars whose dedication is unknown; one in the undercroft of the Chapter House (page 75); the other in what is now the Chapel of the Pyx (page 17).

‡ This plan is given in *Gothic Architecture in England*, page 192.



Chapels of St Benedict, St Edmund, and St Nicholas

north-east and south-east chapels right round, so that the altars may run due north and south. And this may be the explanation of the abnormal planning of the four radiating chapels which we now see at Westminster. If the plan is compared with that of Rheims Cathedral, it will be seen that at Westminster between the chapels of St Benedict and St Edmund is a mass of masonry extraordinarily thick; (and similarly between the Islip chapel and that of St John Baptist, where, however, this massive block has been scooped out at a later period into a small chapel and passage). At Rheims there is no such waste of masonry; and it has been found possible to insert a second rectangular chapel in that position in each ambulatory. The tampering with the Rheims plan then has involved the loss of two chapels and the erection of two great, unnecessary, and expensive masses of masonry. How did it come about? It cannot have been through ignorance or stupidity; the master mason, Henry of Westminster, was one of the most experienced architects of the day. The reason may be that the Rheims plan was a bad one when seen through English spectacles, because not being designed for, it was very awkward for eastward-pointing altars. I have marked the original position of the Westminster altars on the plan (13). From this English point of view the Westminster plan is a distinct improvement on that of Rheims. Nevertheless, it is singularly awkward, and one cannot feel surprised that, except at Tewkesbury, Hayles, and Beaulieu (the last two being probably direct copies of Cistercian churches in France), the Westminster chevet found favour with no one. If every altar was to face due east, there was only one way in which it could be done, viz., by making every chapel which contained an altar run due north and south; in other words, to make the church consist of rectangular compartments. And this was the direction which the English church architects took in planning their churches. From their point of view the planning of Beverley, Salisbury, Ely, Lincoln was perfect; that of West minster, as regards the eastern chapels, was a failure.

CHAPTER VIII

PLANNING FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC

Now we come to the general public, of which the most important part consisted of servants and other secular persons, the number of whom in an important abbey was very considerable. What they desired was a part of the church which in some measure they might call their own, with an altar or altars at which they might hear Mass. The part appropriated to them consisted of the five western bays of the nave and of the space between the western towers; altogether six bays (115). Their special altar was placed between the two doorways of the Rood screen, and, as at Canterbury, was dedicated to the Holy Cross. The Rood screen, like that still existing at St Alban's, was so broad that there was a loft above it. Above the loft, as always, was the great Rood or Crucifix with a Mary and John on either side. There were also a couple of cherubim, one flanking the Mary, the other the John; for "in 1251 orders were given to the keeper or master of the works to have a large cross placed in the nave of the church at Westminster, and to buy two cherubim to stand on each side of the cross."* Thus the arrangements of the Rood in the nave were the same as those of the Rood on the altar-beam in the sanctuary, as shewn in the drawing in the Islip Roll (263). In the loft, as at Lichfield, there was an altar. At Westminster this altar in the Rood loft was dedicated to St Paul and the Crucifix; and Abbot Ware says that people used to ascend a staircase on one side for kissing the feet of the Crucifix, and descend by a staircase on the other side. In the Inventory taken at the Dissolution this St Paul's chapel is actually called the Rood chapel.† Leland states that there was also an altar of St Helena in the nave. Now, since the Empress Helena was the "Inventrix Crucis," it is probable that her name was associated with the altar of Holy Cross. This seems borne out by the fact that an agreement was made in 1298 for a priest to sing at the altars of Holy Cross

* Lethaby, 27. Ware, page 7, speaks of "*crucem in nave ecclesie.*"
† Lethaby, 353.

and St Helen.* Thus it is probably another case of a double dedication. Besides these, there may have been in the western bays other altars.

All this lay part of the church was completely shut off from the monastic chapel of St Peter by the Rood screen, when the doors in its two passages were locked. To shut off the north aisle from the sacristy, a wall or grating must have been constructed across the eastern end of this aisle; at Durham there were folding doors of open trellis work, with iron spikes a quarter of a yard long on the top almost up to the aisle vault "to the intent that none should climb over it, and was evermore locked, and never opened but on holy days, or on such days as there was any procession." At Westminster a similar gate would be required in the south aisle. In this way, by the continuous line of aisle gate, Rood screen, aisle gate the general public would effectually be prevented from getting into the monastic chapel or interfering with the sacristans or priests as they were proceeding from the great sacristy into the monastic chapel. The access for the public to these western bays would be by the great west door. But the nave was filled with masons' sheds and scaffolding from *c.* 1366 to *c.* 1513, and during that time they must have had a temporary entrance to their altars; perhaps it was through the wall of the north aisle.

* Lethaby, 353.

CHAPTER IX

PLANNING FOR PILGRIMS

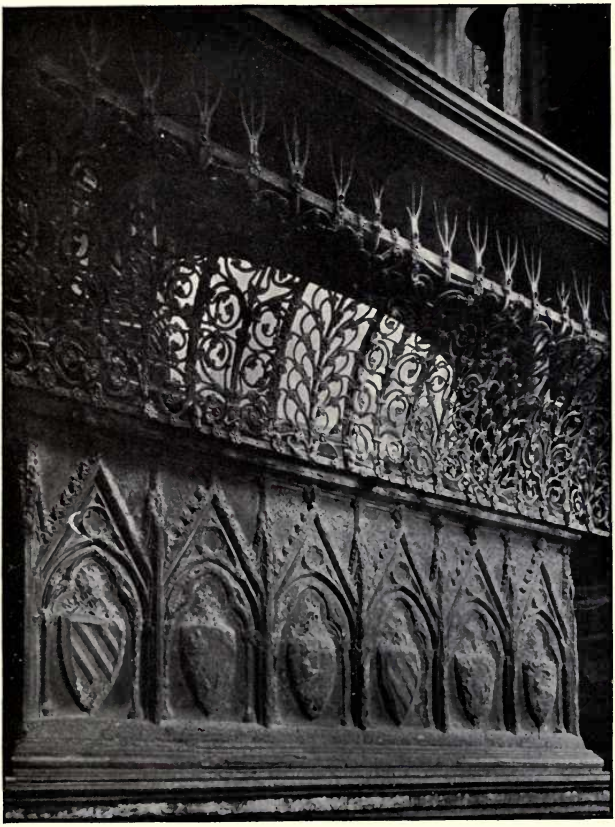
BETWEEN services, especially in the afternoon, pilgrims would come to see the treasures of the church laid out on the altars, and the outsides of the tombs of the kings, and to get a glimpse of St Edward's shrine, and no doubt would be sorted into parties and taken round under due supervision (12). They came by thousands, for St Edward was a most famous saint; practically the Patron saint of England till eclipsed by St George. There were all sorts of characters among the pilgrims, as we know from the *Canterbury Tales*. Therefore, for safety, the ambulatory along which they were to pass, had iron gates at either end, and was strongly fenced on both sides; all the chapels from the fourteenth century onward had tall screens and locked doors, such as remain in the entrance to St Edmund's and St Nicholas' chapel and elsewhere; and in addition, all the more important tombs had stout iron palisades in front of them, such as the railings in front of Abbot Fascet's tomb (68), and the grille, part of which has been replaced, on the tomb of Queen Eleanor (69). Till 1820 most of these palisades remained; they were equally common in Canterbury Cathedral and other great churches; fragments of the Westminster ironwork are collected in the triforium.* Now follow the pilgrims. They would probably enter the north transept by the small doorway of the western aisle, which we may call the Pilgrims' doorway; to the east they have in front of them the chapels of St Andrew, St Michael, and St John Evangelist; they turn to the left, passing through the iron gates, which are in their original position, into the north ambulatory; if it is the thirteenth century, they have on their left the eastern half of the chapel of St John Evangelist; if it is the sixteenth century, it has become the two-storied chantry chapel of Abbot Islip; next they see on the left the chapel of St John Baptist, and then that of St Paul. If it is the thirteenth century, they see to the east a long, narrow Lady chapel. If it is the sixteenth century, they

* The tombs of Eleanor, Edward I., and Philippa certainly had railings r grilles, and probably those of Edward III. and Richard II. (*Gleanings*, 88).

enter the north aisle of Henry VII.'s chapel, and then the nave; they pass round the grille, and leaving the nave, see Lady Margaret's chapel. Leaving this, they enter the southern ambulatory. Here they see on their left the chapels of St

Tomb of Abbot Fascet

Nicholas, St Edmund, and St Benedict, when they are brought to a standstill by a second set of iron gates. Nowadays we should open the gates, and let them pass along the east aisle of the south transept through the corner doorway into the open air. But this was a royal doorway, and would have led the



The Eleanor Grille

pilgrims to the Palace, where most certainly they were not wanted. Now in Winchester Cathedral, which also is Benedictine, there are some twelfth-century iron gates, which used to stand just where the gates stand in the south ambulatory of Westminster; and at Winchester pilgrims entered by the doorway in the north transept, and when, after circumambulating the quire and eastern chapels, they had reached these gates, they turned back on their steps and left the church by the same doorway by which they had entered it. This was probably the case at Westminster also; and if so, it explains the curious fact that the two sets of gates of the north and south ambulatory are not placed in corresponding bays. At the southern gates then the pilgrims turn round, see the backs of the sedilia, and the outside of the tombs of Richard II., Edward III., Philippa, Henry V., Eleanor, Henry III., Edward I., and of Edmund Crouchback, Aymer de Valence, and Aveline of Lancaster; then they leave the church by the western aisle of the south transept, which has no altars in it because it is such an important passage way. Money and influence would be wanted if a pilgrim wished to be allowed to pass through the sanctuary and visit the chapels of the Confessor and Henry V. For the ordinary pilgrim such a route as that suggested would give quite an adequate view of the other chief objects of interest in the church.

CHAPTER X

PLANNING FOR ROYALTY, AND FOR THE KING'S TREASURER

Royalty

For great functions the State entrance in English churches is normally by the West Doorway, as indeed it was here at the Coronation of King Edward VII. (29). But at Westminster the northern entrance was more accessible from London, and still more so from the Palace, than the far-away western doorway. Moreover, the nobility of the northern façade and the relative inferiority of the western one point to the former as the chief entrance (43). There is definite evidence that the sovereign, before opening Parliament, used to attend service at the Abbey, and that Queen Elizabeth used to enter by the north transept. Her father, Henry VIII., is said to have come in like manner in 1534. Elizabeth used to come on horseback, and her train on foot. Malcolm, in *Londinium Redivivum* (i. 261), describes precisely the route taken by Elizabeth in 1597 (12). After dismounting, "her Majesty kneeled upon cushions at the North door, and recited a prayer composed for her by Dean Goodman,* who afterwards presented her with a golden staff, on the end of which was a dove." Then the procession passed "through the north aisle to the nave, and thence till the Queen was seated near the altar." After Te Deum, Litany, and Sermon, the procession passed "to the south-east door, where the dean received the staff of gold." Thus the Royal route was through the north transept; then down the north aisle of the nave as far as the sacristy door; there the procession turned to the left, and entering the quire through the quire screen, passed between the stalls up to the raised sanctuary. Here was the Royal seat, just beneath where the portrait of Richard II. now hangs.† After

* There is a kneeling statue of Dean Goodman in St Benedict's chapel.

† Mr Micklethwaite says that *c.* 1388 there would be room for a royal "cage," or pew, where now is the tomb of Anne of Cleves (172). In the Inventory of 1388 there is mentioned a "pannus de diversis coloribus stragulat', vocat' Canope, ad coperiendum Cawagium Regis juxta magnum

service the sovereign left the abbey by the door in Poets' Corner (39). The funeral of George II. also is recorded to have entered the abbey through the north transept, not by the west doorway. Now we see why there are no altars in the east aisle of the south transept; it is because this aisle was part of the royal processional path.

For less important functions—*e.g.*, when the King or others residing in the Palace were visiting the church to hear Mass—the state entrance would probably not be used; but instead of it the doorway round the corner in St Andrew's chapel; a fenced way would lead to it from the Palace. The rest of the Royal route might be as before; the King leaving the Abbey for the Palace by the "low arched door in the south-east angle of the South transept," which Dart expressly describes as "leading to the old Palace."

The Treasury.

There was yet another requirement to be borne in mind in setting out the plan of the church; it was the appropriation of part of it as the Royal Treasury. At Wells and in Beverley Minster the Chapter House is constructed in two stories; the lower part forming the sacristy of the church. At Westminster also this arrangement was adopted; but instead of the undercroft or crypt being used as the sacristy of the church, it was appropriated as the King's Treasury, or as it is sometimes called, the "Treasury of the King's Wardrobe below the Chapter House of Westminster" (75). This does not seem to have been the original intention. For it has been found that the walls of the undercroft were originally only 12 feet thick,* but that afterwards, probably immediately afterwards, the thickness of the wall was increased to 17 feet; that this is so appears from the fact that there is a straight joint in the thickness of the wall, 5 feet from the external face. We may conjecture then that this thickening marks the intention to use the crypt as the Royal Treasury. The disproportionate size of the Chapter

altare." On the feast of the translation of St Edward in 1390, King Richard II. sat in the choir at High Mass with his chaplains round him. A little after the commencement of Mass the Queen entered the choir, solemnly crowned, and took her seat on the north side; *i.e.*, on the opposite side to the King. "Ad missam magnam in choro (rex) residebat cum sua capella circumdante corona. Parum post principium magnae missae intravit regina solemniter coronata in chorum, et in aquilone parte secessit" (*An Unrecognised Westminster Chronicler*, 28).

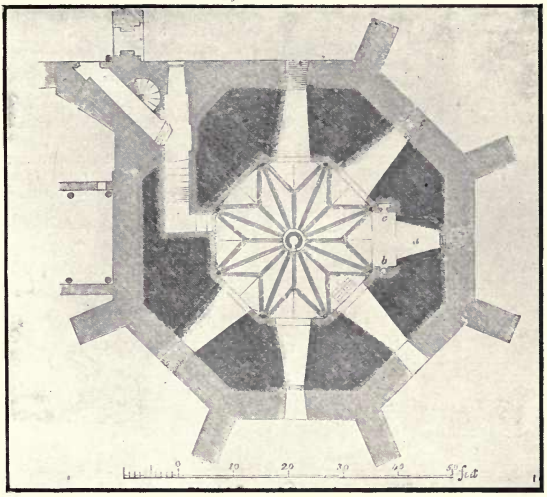
* *Gleanings*, 46.

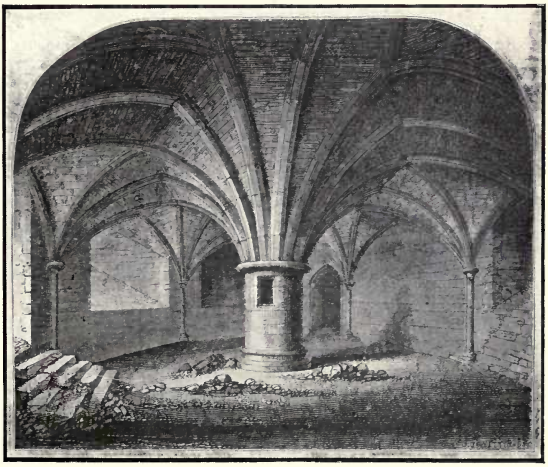
King Richard the Second

House above points in the same direction. If erected, as probably intended, on the 12-foot wall, it would have been large enough for the convent; but being built on the 17-foot wall, it was unnecessarily large, providing 80 seats for the monks, whereas in the quire they had only 64 stalls. Probably the reason for making the Chapter House so very large was that it might be used for important secular meetings, as indeed we know it was. When it was decided to appropriate the undercroft as Treasury, an access had to be provided for it, and it was thought that the access would be more secure, if situated inside the church rather than outside. So the south wall of the south transept was pierced with a low doorway (39), from which a flight of steps, crossed by strong doors, led down to the undercroft. It was probably to gain access from the Palace to this doorway that the Gothic doorway was inserted in the Poets' Corner. It will be noticed that it cuts into the arcading on the left; it is therefore an afterthought, like the thickening of the wall of the undercroft. It is remarkable that two circular cavities were left inside the central column of the undercroft (75). They were sealed no doubt by blocks lightly cemented in, and easily removable. They probably formed repositories for exceptionally valuable jewels and the like, and the secret of their existence would be known but to a few great officials. To the east is a recess for an altar, and there remain its piscina and aumbry.

We have seen how admirably the church was planned for the numerous monastic services and processions; equally well thought out were the arrangements for the Sovereign and Court, the Treasurer, the Pilgrims, and the general public. With requirements so multifarious, no wonder that the conventual and cathedral churches were so huge, and that Westminster with its eventual 511 feet of length was not a foot too long.

In spite of the vast thickness of its walls the Treasury was successfully broken into in 1303. The chief agent in the robbery was a bankrupt merchant, Richard de Podelicote, who had succeeded in breaking into the Refectory the year before, and stealing much silver. Great preparations were made by him and many accomplices, among whom was the sacrist of the abbey; a special set of burglar's tools was manufactured, and the graveyard east of the chapter house was sewn with hemp in which to hide the plunder till it should be safe to carry it off; the gardener being refused admittance whenever he wanted to mow it. About the 1st of May in 1303 everything was ready; the undercroft was broken into, and was found to contain a vast hoard; not only the royal regalia and jewels and the household plate, but a great store of money which had been accumulated by Edward I. for his war with Scotland; the whole accumulation was probably not less in value than £2,000,000 of our money. A couple of black panniers with a great weight of treasure were carried off by boat;





Undercroft of Chapter House

and five more robbers on horseback conveyed away more treasure for two nights running. So great was the hoard that much was perforce left behind ; the king's four crowns and jewels and rings and much plate were found strewn about on the floor of the undercroft. Then followed a judicial inquiry ; the abbot of Westminster and nearly the whole convent were sent to prison in the Tower of London, and a great haul of laymen also was made. There was little difficulty in bringing the matter home to them ; some were seen to have become suddenly rich, buying horses and arms ; one had been heard boasting that he could buy a town if he pleased. Richard de Podelicote was found with £2,200 (=£29,600) worth of stolen property in his possession ; many were known to have been selling jewels and plate, which they could not possibly have come by honestly, to goldsmiths in London, Colchester, and Northampton. And as usual, the guilty persons informed on one another. In the end most of the missing property no doubt was recovered, most of the monks were acquitted, and the chief criminals were duly punished.

CHAPTER XI

PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN

So much for planning. Now let us look at the church from the point of view of architectural design. First of all, it is very big, and in none of the arts does bigness tell so much as in architecture. It is very long and very high; and it looks still longer and higher than it is (162). Even in England, where churches are far longer than abroad, it is very long; of our churches it ranks in length the fifth; while in height it stands at the top of the list of all our vaulted churches. It looks longer than it is, partly because the eye tries in vain to count or estimate the number of its bays, of the arches of its triforium, of the windows of its clerestory, of the ribs in the vault overhead; partly because the vista is broken by the quire screen; it was formerly broken still more effectively by an organ placed upon it. It seems higher than it is, partly because it is so narrow; York is as high, but seems lower because it is so broad. Again the individual bays are very narrow (81); each is more than five times as high as it is broad; the slenderness of each bay increases the appearance of verticality; at Exeter the broadness of the bays accentuates the lowness of the interior. Again, at Westminster the bays being so narrow, are very numerous; and the great multitude of slender bays shooting upward yet more increases the apparent height. The bays again are separated by vaulting shafts, and each set of shafts is triple; the multitudinous spring of these triple shafts emphasises once more the predominance of the vertical line. Elsewhere too the vaulting shafts too often start their flight only midway at some corbel or capital; here there is no such truncation; the vaulting shafts soar up the whole height from the pavement to the vault. No wonder that Westminster looks its full height and more.

We have seen that the interior is very long, very tall, and very narrow. Can we go further, and see why it is precisely so long, 511 feet; so high, 100 feet; so broad, 35 feet? The length presents no difficulty; we have seen above that a nave for the laity, a monks' chapel of six compartments (38), an ambulatory, and a Lady chapel long enough to contain 64 stalls and an

altar had to be provided ; certainly they could not be compressed into less than 511 feet ; on the other hand, to make the church a single foot longer would have meant unnecessary expense and waste.

As for the height—100 feet—that is controlled by a combination of factors, which dictated all good church design—considerations of ritual, practical considerations such as fireproofing, abutment, drainage, lighting, and, lastly, artistic feeling. We will turn later to this.

But what of the span of the central aisle of the nave? How is that settled? Simply by considerations of ritual. It was fixed by the breadth of the quire ; which in turn was fixed by the amount of space required by the stalls and the gangway for the lectern and processions (38). To make it narrower than this would have been bad for the ritual ; to make it wider would have been to incur useless expense. Moreover if some such proportion of height : span :: 3 : 1 were to be retained, for each foot of increased span the church ought to receive three feet of additional height—a vast expense. In several English churches the span was increased without proportional increase of height, and the result is calamitous. In the Ile de France, as the churches are generally broader than ours, so they are far loftier ; to get increased spaciousness below, a French architect did not hesitate to pile his church up another fifty feet in the air. Westminster rises to the great height of 100 feet, but Amiens is 144 feet, Beauvais 150 feet, Cologne 155 feet beneath the vault. Again, just as the width of the quire controlled that of the nave, so it controlled also the width of the transept. For if the transepts were allowed to differ in width from the nave and quire, the crossing would not be square, and any central tower which might be erected above it would be oblong on plan.

Next to scale and proportion, the most important factor to assess is the design of the church as seen transversely and longitudinally ; in other words, in transverse and longitudinal section. A transverse section of the nave is given below. It is noticeable at once in this that the church is divided into nave and aisles ; and that the nave, or central aisle, is far loftier and broader than the side aisles. It is a design familiar to everybody ; it occurs in thousands of churches. But familiar as it is, it requires explanation. We don't build houses, schools, town halls, museums, hospitals, in this fashion. What was the use of the aisles? The answer is that in the greater churches they were little more than gangways or passages. That being so, it would have been a waste of money to build them very broad or very lofty. By keeping them narrow and low a great saving

in expense was effected; to carry up the aisles as well as the nave for a height of 100 feet would have added immensely to the cost of the church. All this arrangement (the Basilican) had been handed down from the earliest days of church building.*

Now turn to the church as seen in longitudinal section. One bay of it is shewn on page 81. The first thing to note is that it is an elevation of three stories. Now that is good to begin with. An interior or an exterior of three stories is more satisfactory than one of any other number. Even the numberless stories of an American "sky-scraper" are grouped into three stories in the better designs. Perhaps this is because we cannot judge of a composition unless it is so simple that we can compare the factors of the combination without mental stress, which cannot be done if the elevation is one of more than three stories.

South Aisle from West

What has to be considered next is, how the height of Westminster is determined. Obviously it is nothing but the heights of the three stories added

* All the greater churches built at Rome in the fourth century, some of which are still standing, were built in basilican fashion. The nave was made lofty and enormously broad—as broad as tie-beams could be found to span—and the aisles low and narrow, separated from the nave by colonnades. The sanctuary was small and was brought close up to the nave, making the celebrant visible to all, and the singers were placed in the eastern bays of the nave; it is a plan which would suit precisely the requirements of modern congregational services, did we not prefer to follow mediæval rather than Early Christian usage.

together; to account for it, we have only to find out how the height of each separate story is arrived at. When that is settled, we may ask first whether the three stories are in happy proportion; and secondly, what special beauties of design there are in each one of the three stories, considered separately.

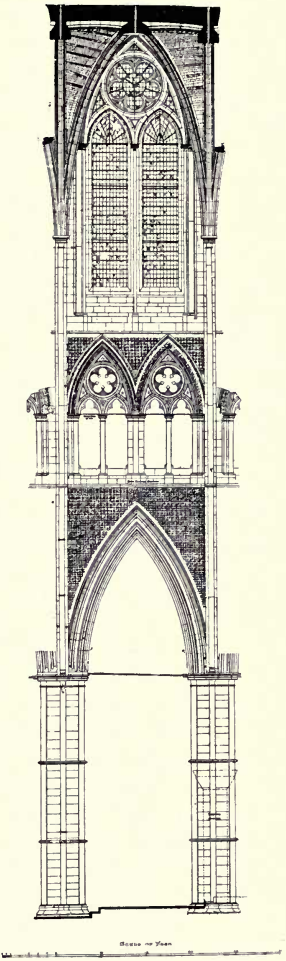
It will be convenient to begin with the clerestory. Why is it so tall? The reason is that at Westminster the end windows of the nave and apse are hundreds of feet away from the greater part of the church, which is therefore dependent for its lighting almost wholly on the windows in the side walls. Now if the nave were built no higher than the aisles, as is the case with Bristol Cathedral, it would get no direct light at all from above. But as it is twice as high as the aisles, there is room for very lofty windows pouring down light direct into the nave below. Probably when it was erected, the upper windows (clerestory windows) of the sanctuary were the tallest in England. In the end everybody recognised that top lighting was by far the best method to employ; and by the close of the thirteenth century clerestory windows were put up at Lincoln and Exeter not only tall, as at Westminster, but much broader; and by the year 1350 the upper wall of Gloucester quire had become practically one continuous sheet of glass. It was not that England had a gloomier climate then than now, but that in all the greater churches, and in very many parish churches too, the windows were filled with painted glass, which was often so opaque as greatly to impair the lighting.

Another source of light in the basilican churches is that obtained from the windows of the aisles. This is effective for the aisles; but of less account for the nave. The sides of the nave at Westminster are about 16 feet from each aisle wall; and all the light from the aisle windows has to pass across these 16 feet before it reaches the nave; moreover much of it is refracted by pillars and arches, and lost. Still, it is valuable light and it was desirable to get as much of it as possible. Now the windows of the north aisle could not be brought down to or near the ground, lest thieves should break in; while on the south side the sloping roof of the north walk of the cloister, which is exceptionally lofty, abutted the aisle wall; on this side therefore the sills of the windows could not be lower than the top of the cloister roof (103). It follows that since the windows started so high up, the aisle had to be built very lofty to allow a range of windows tall enough to give much light. The aisle windows at Westminster are exceptionally tall for the period.* Nevertheless the Westminster people avoided the mis-

* Their lower lights are also exceptionally broad.

take made in Canterbury nave, where the aisle windows were developed at the expense of those of the clerestory; top light is much more effective, both practically and artistically, than side light, and the former ought never to have been sacrificed to the latter. Having got so far, we can see what determines the height of the ground story of the nave. The aisle windows are set high and are themselves very tall. But it would have been quite useless to have such lofty windows if the arches leading into the nave were low; otherwise most of the light would strike against the low arches and not reach the nave at all. Obviously the right course was to make the arches as lofty as the windows; which was done. This is how the great height of the ground story comes about; it occupies one-half of the whole height of the church, and is mainly conditioned by the great height of the north walk of the cloister (31).

Next we come to the intermediate story, which consists of walling supported by a double arcade (85). If the transverse section on page 97 be examined, it will be seen that the stone ceilings or vaults are nowhere exposed to the weather, but are covered with wooden roofs. At Westminster the lower roofs are at a considerably higher level than the vaults of the aisle, and there is therefore a lofty triforium chamber between the vaults and the roofs. The result is that the intermediate of the three stories of the internal elevation is a rather tall one; in fact it is about 17 feet high (120). In some churches it is much taller; *e.g.*, in Ely nave it is about 25 feet high;



A Bay of the Quire.

in others, it is so small as hardly to count as a separate story, *e.g.*, in the naves of York and Bath, where the interior practically becomes one of only two stories, and does not look well. Westminster avoids both errors; the intermediate story is important and the interior has three fully developed stories; on the other hand, the height of the triforium is not gained by diminishing either that of the ground story, as in Ely nave, or the clerestory, as in Lichfield nave.

Then comes the very important question: Are the three heights arranged so as to produce a harmony of proportion? There are of course many ways of arranging three stories; *e.g.*, they may be in descending order in some such ratio as 3, 2, 1, as to some extent in the transepts of York Minster, the design of which is certainly not satisfactory. Reverse the order, as in Malvern nave, *i.e.*, make the ground story very low, and the clerestory very tall, and the result is top-heaviness. In some fairly satisfactory modern exteriors, the ratio has been 2, 3, 1; but in a church such an arrangement could not be carried out without curtailing both the ground story and the clerestory. The actual arrangement of Westminster gives a ratio of 3, 1, 2; *i.e.*, the ground story occupies a half, the triforium a sixth, the clerestory a third of the whole height. This disposition is eminently satisfactory. Why then, it may be asked, was it not adopted everywhere else? and why was it adopted so rarely in England? The reason is that our interiors are usually too low to admit of it; in the lofty churches of the Ile de France it is the normal arrangement. In England, where there is a well-developed triforium story, usually it is given its height at the expense of the ground story or the clerestory, or of both. To the full development and to the disposition of its triforium more than to anything else the Westminster design owes its supreme excellence.

Now look at each story in detail (81). The ground story consists of pillars which carry arches and portions of wall called "spandrils." First look at the arches. They are pointed, because a pointed is stronger than a semicircular arch, and the more it is pointed, the stronger it is; these arches are pointed more acutely than usual. But being acutely pointed, they are narrow; the result is that a larger number of pillars is required than is usual in an English church, *e.g.*, in Lincoln nave, and the expense is greatly increased. Why did they not shrink from the extra expense? The reason probably is that the Gothic pillars were built on the site of the Norman pillars; and as the Norman arcade of semicircular arches would be far lower than the present one, its arches would be narrow, and its pillars close

set. The thirteenth-century builders would be inclined to adopt the Norman setting out, partly because of its convenience, partly because the interior was meant to be far loftier than that of any vaulted church in England, and would be safer if supported by narrow than by wide arches. Next, given that each arch was to be acutely pointed, how was this particular curve—a very beautiful one—arrived at? There are of course any number of acutely pointed arches that might be adopted. Why this particular one? One answer that might be made is that it is one which can be set out easily. Take a straight line A, B, C, D, divided into three equal parts, each of which is of the same span as a Westminster arch. Then from A with the radius A C describe a curve, and another from D with the radius D B; these two curves will intersect at E; and the two curves B E C make up the Westminster arch. Or, if you prefer, on the base B C erect an equilateral triangle, and on its apex another, and the same arch may be obtained. The latter is the method which Sir Gilbert Scott believed to have been adopted.* As a matter of fact, however, both accounts are wrong. For the Westminster arch does not stop at the line B C, but is continued for a short distance below it; in other words the lowest courses of the arch are incurved. Its two curves are struck from centres not on the line B C, but slightly above it.† For this we might assume a scientific reason—a desire to bring the thrust of the arch more vertically on to the pillar—were it not that the incurving is so slight. It is probably nothing but a bit of artistic feeling—the arch sitting on the capital more nicely if struck from a centre above its base than if struck from the base itself.

The arch itself is a compound one, and is built up of two independent arches, as may be seen from the jointing; and these arches are recessed, *i.e.*, the lower arch or order is narrower than the one above it (89). The original square blocks or voussoirs of each order have been channelled into a series of rolls and hollows; the latter to hold shadows, the former to catch the light; so that the arch seems to consist of alternating narrow bands of light and darkness. Moreover the whole compound arch is framed in and demarcated from the walling by a small projecting hoodmold which runs all round. Nor is the wall space left bare; it is covered with a diaper of stone flowers, which again were painted and gilt. The spandrils are separated from those in the bays to the right and left by a triplet of vaulting-shafts, and by a molded string course from the triforium story. Thus each bay of the ground story has its own proper frame.

* *Gleanings*, 27.

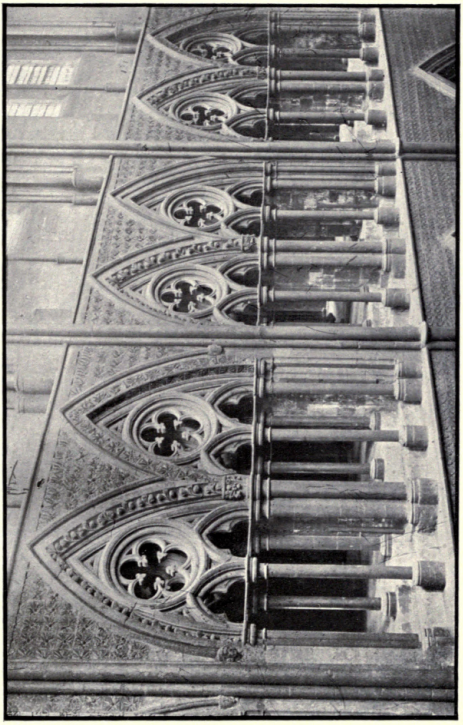
† The same is the case with the arches of the north porch.

When the thirteenth-century church was built, at first wooden beams were inserted across the arches and the aisles (89), till the masonry had come to a settlement; wooden beams may still be seen in the part first built; which, as Professor Lethaby has shewn, consists of the eastern and the three northern bays of the eastern limb with the ambulatory and chapels behind them. The three southern bays were built next, and in these the ties are rods of iron built into the capitals. In the third portion of the work iron hooks were built into the capitals, and to these hooks were fastened iron rods having an eye at each end. Plainly it was intended that ultimately these last should be unhooked,* and that the others should be filed away or sawn off; but they have been allowed to remain. In the western nave the builders were less distrustful of their masonry and did not insert any of these ties.

The piers are of marble, from Purbeck. Freestone would have answered quite as well as marble; but Henry III. preferred the more costly and beautiful material, because he wished his gift to be a precious one. The piers are made more costly still by being encircled with marble shafts. These are of no constructional value, and indeed were not inserted till the whole church had got down to its bearings, and settlements had ceased. Like the diaper of the spandrils and the moldings of the arches, they were added to make the work more costly as well as beautiful. East of the central tower the piers have four shafts; west of it they have eight. Their capitals are not encircled with carved foliage, as they would have been in a French church, but are simply molded, as at Beverley and Salisbury. Perhaps this was because they were carved or turned in a lathe at Purbeck; and there was less risk of damage in the course of transport if a capital was molded than if it was foliated. In Ely presbytery, however, at this same time foliated capitals of marble were being put up; probably the marble was imported in block and Purbeck masons came over to carve it; at Westminster also there is a superb foliated capital carved in Purbeck marble carrying the vault of the Chapter House (92), in addition to foliated caps in the arcading of the aisle walls (86). In the molded capitals of Westminster the masons seem to have had a free hand; they probably had a general idea given them, and each man carried it out in his own way. So it was to some extent with the bases.

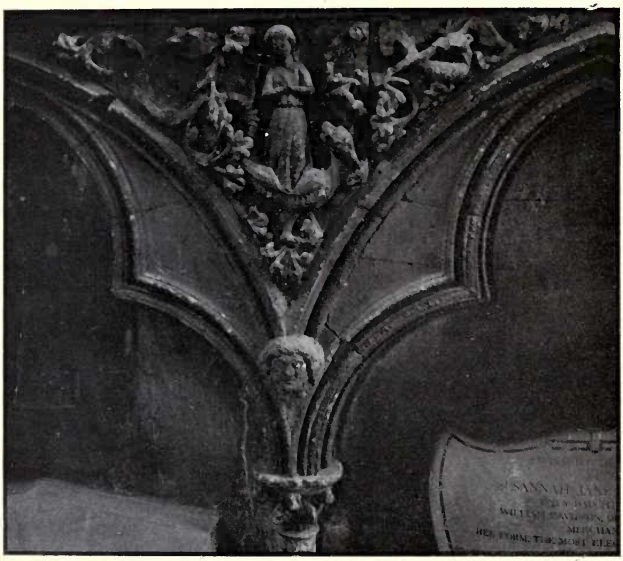
Now turn to the triforium. This is of all the members of an early Gothic church in England the most beautiful (99).

* Hooks without bars may be seen in the westernmost pillars of Henry III.'s work and in the capital of the central pillar of the Chapter House (93).



The Triforium

One reason is that the triforium chamber is usually a blind story. Therefore the open tracery of its arcade shows up sharply against the pit of darkness behind. Moreover it provides a band of demarcation between the brilliancy of the clerestory above and the subdued light of the nave below; this intermediate zone of gloom is of incalculable value artistically. In Westminster the triforium chamber is lighted by windows at



St Margaret and the Dragon

the back (120), but so little light reaches the arcade that it is practically a blind story, especially as the arcade is doubled, so as still more to obstruct the passage of light. This doubling of the triforium arcade was quite unknown elsewhere when Henry III. began work. Each bay of the arcade contains two traceried arches. If only one had been employed, as in Gloucester quire and probably in the Confessor's church, the triforium story would have had to be considerably heightened, which

would have injured the proportions of the internal elevation. Of the triforium arcades in England the finest are those of Lichfield nave, Lincoln presbytery, and Westminster; and the primary may well be claimed by Westminster.

In the clerestory there is the remarkable peculiarity that there is no passage in the thickness of the wall, as in a normal English church of the period (90). On the other hand there is the somewhat unusual feature of a passage in the thickness of the wall in the aisles and chapels, on a level with the sills of the windows (39). The first of these two facts points to probable French influence in the design of Westminster; the second indicates that the particular influence was that of work in Champagne or Burgundy.

It is remarkable that none of the original windows in the church, except the roses, have more than two lights. The centrepiece of each traceried window consists of a circle, which is exceptionally large, after French fashion (81). In all these circular centrepieces, whether in the church, cloister, or Chapter House, the cusps were originally worked separately, and cemented into grooves. The heads of the lower lights of these windows were left uncusped, except in the Chapter House (93).

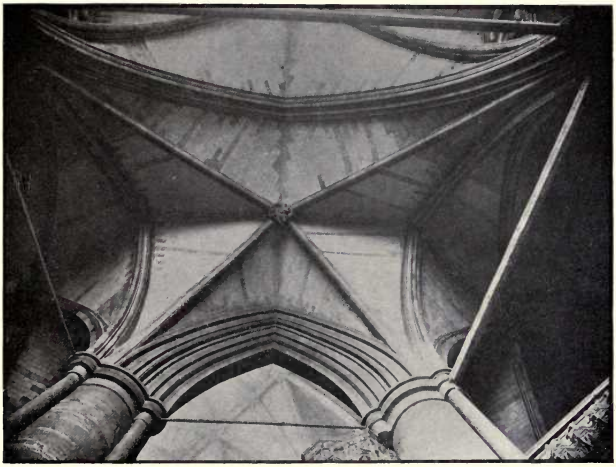
In the aisles and chapels there is a continuous arcade below the windows—another constructional superfluity—in its spandrils may be seen here and there fragments of foliage and figures carved in the English manner; *e.g.*, St Michael and the dragon, an angel censing, a thorn bush and deaf adders; all on the west wall of the North transept—and St Margaret in St Andrew's chapel (86).

CHAPTER XII

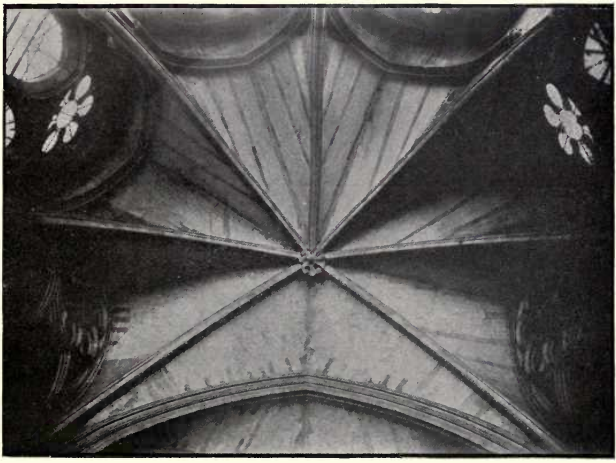
VAULTING AND ABUTMENT IN HENRY III.'S CHURCH

OVERHEAD everywhere soar monumental vaults; that of the nave one of the most absolutely satisfying in Christendom; unsurpassed in England, unless perhaps at Exeter; exceeded far away in intricacy of design and finesse of construction in Gloucester quire and at Westminster in Henry the Seventh's chapel; but within the limits of its design perfect (91). The main object of a vault is to safeguard the church from fire; its subsidiary object to form a central point and culmination of design, to which every pier and arch below shall branch, converge, and end. Its practical value was shewn at Chartres Cathedral, where the timber roofs were burnt off, but the vaults stopped the fire from reaching any part of the church below. Where a fire occurs in a church unprovided with stone vaults, such as York and Selby, the burning roofs first damage the clerestory; then they fall down in a heap, set fire to the fittings of the church, and calcine the pillars. Such a fire in Carlisle quire in the thirteenth century made it necessary to underpin the arches of the ground story, and put up new pillars and capitals. Such damage never has occurred and never can occur at Westminster.

The earliest vaults remaining are of the Confessor's time, in the Pyx chapel and elsewhere (17). These are unribbed, *i.e.*, groined, vaults; and are constructed of rubble and not of dressed stone (ashlar): each of them contains four compartments or cells: such a vault is said to be "quadripartite." In the aisles and ambulatory and in the earlier parts of the cloister also the vaults are quadripartite; but instead of sharp edges, "groins," they have ribs. To construct such vaults, first the ribs are put up, then slightly curving arches of ashlar are built up, one over the other, from rib to rib or from rib to arch or wall—very much as an umbrella is made. There are quadripartite ribbed vaults in each aisle of the transepts and nave, the ambulatory, the north and east walk of the cloister and the vestibule of the

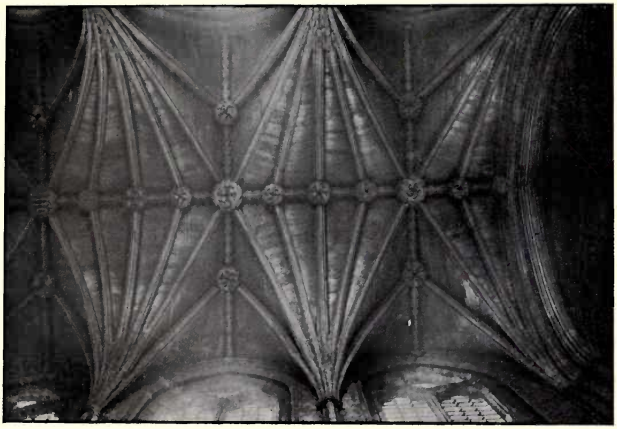


Vault in South Ambulatory.

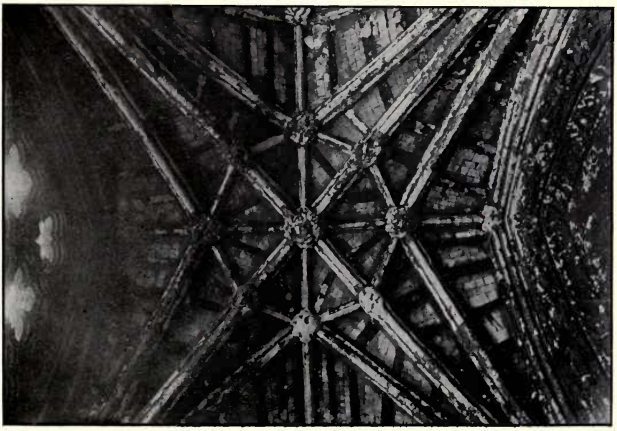


Vault of St Edmund's Chapel

Vaulting of Sanctuary and Apse

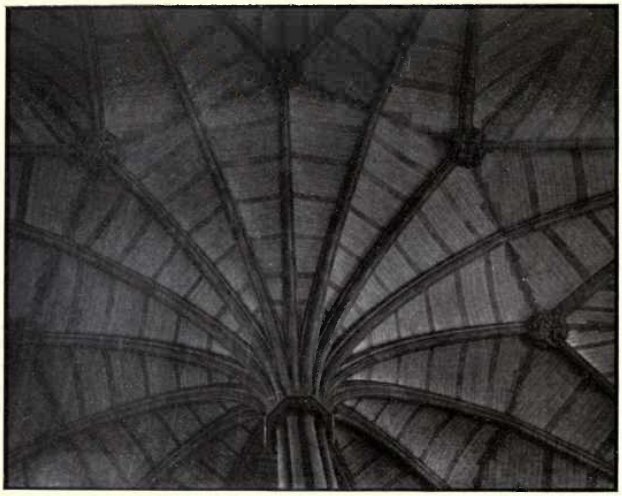


Vault in Western Nave



Vault in East Cloister

Chapter House.* The construction of the vaults can be studied best in the cloister and the vestibule of the Chapter House, as there they are near the eye. It will be seen in the ambulatory (89) that with such a combination of four converging diagonal ribs a bay of any shape can be vaulted. In the radiating chapels (89) the vaulting problem is still more complex; for each is in plan a truncated octagon; but the problem is solved quite simply by employing seven ribs instead of four, springing

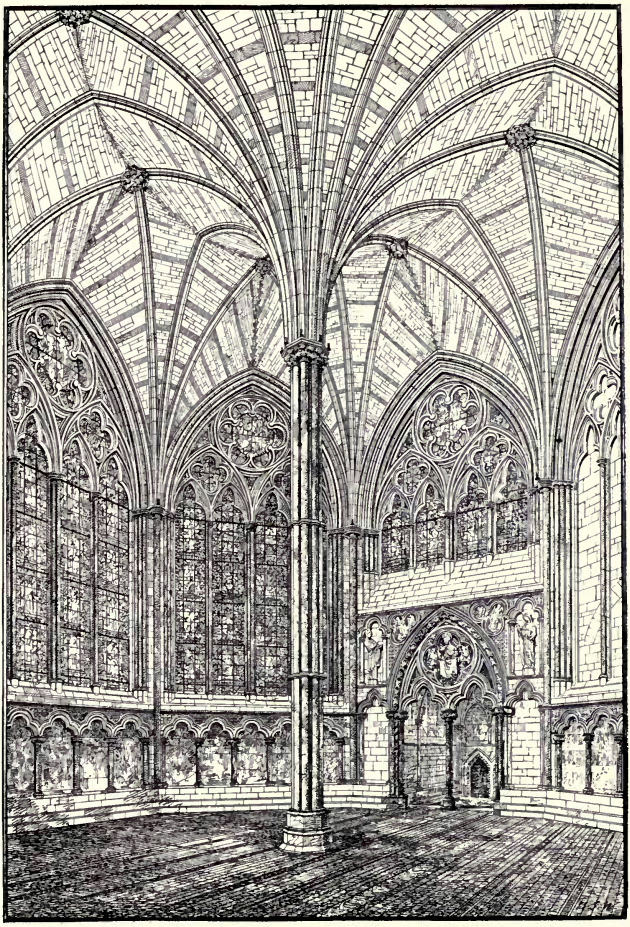


Vault of Chapter House

from the corners of the chapel and curving up to a central boss. These vaults should be compared with the high vault of the apse above St Edward's chapel (90), which has six radiating ribs.

An exceptional vault is seen in the chapel of St Faith (40). On paper it looks like a quadripartite vault with a transverse ridge rib; this last rib however does not occur on a ridge, but springs up in a curve from the same level as the diagonal ribs; thus the

* One bay of a quadripartite ribbed vault is shown on the left of the plan of the Jewel House (297).



Chapter House

bay is divided into six cells, and the vault is a "sexpartite" one.

In the high vaults of the sanctuary and transepts a rather more advanced type is seen than in the aisles (90). The method* by which the arched cells are built up leaves jagged edges of the courses along the ribs (as may be seen by looking at the ambulatory vault) (89). To mask and strengthen one of the ridges, another rib is added, which follows the whole length of the ridge of the sanctuary from east to west, and of the transepts from north to south. Much later on, vaults were built under the western towers, not only with longitudinal ridge-ribs following the axis of the church as above, but with transverse ridge-ribs as well.

West of the crossing the high vault becomes more complex (91). Like those of the western towers, it has diagonal ribs, a longitudinal ridge-rib following the axis of the church and transverse ridge-ribs crossing the church from the apex of one clerestory window to the apex of the opposite window; but in each of the four cells of each bay there is a pair of new "intermediate" ribs; which, like the diagonals, spring from the capitals of the vaulting-shafts; but, unlike them, do not rise up to the central boss, but only to a point half-way in one of the ridge-ribs. The same type of vault, *i.e.*, one with four diagonal, two ridge-ribs, and eight intermediate ribs, covers the whole of the west and south walks of the cloister, where it can be easily studied.†

The vaulting of the Chapter House, as rebuilt by Sir Gilbert Scott, should be compared with that of the radiating chapels (93). The Chapter House is a regular octagon. A pillar is erected in the centre; and from the capital of this pillar eight pointed arches are built up, whose outer springers rest on the corners of the wall between the windows; these divide the vault into eight cells. Each of these eight cells is again subdivided into three cells by three ribs rising to a central boss, one from the central pillar, two from the corners of the wall.

The vault of the crossing between the transepts is lath and plaster.

All the high vaults, and most of the others, pretend to be supported by vaulting-shafts, rising from the pavement (81). Obviously these are far too slender to be able to bear so vast a weight. As a matter of fact, the weight of the vaults does not

* All this is explained in *Gothic Architecture in England;* to which the reader is referred for a detailed account of the general principles of mediæval architecture, which cannot be attempted in this volume.

† See the drawing of the south cloister on page 293.

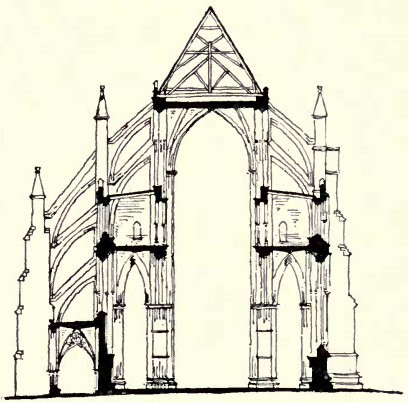
Flying Buttresses

press vertically only, but laterally as well; the vaults are mainly carried by the outer part of the walls and by the buttresses. Therefore the vaulting-shafts are otiose; mere ornaments. But, as ornaments, they are of primary artistic import. It is they that define the lateral limits of each bay; it is their upper flight that corrects the strong horizontal lines of pier arches, triforium arches, and clerestory windows. Moreover, but for them, the three stories—ground story, triforium, and clerestory—would be disconnected and independent designs; each set of vaulting-shafts ties and connects the three designs, and makes them, not three designs, but one design. Most important of all, the vaulting-shafts make the vault what it is—the constructional and the artistic centre of the whole design. Compared with the vault, the pier and arch, the triforium, and the clerestory, are secondary and subordinate factors; they are but its supports. Architecture is the art of providing shelter; to the eye the shelter here is the monumental vault. And so in essential design—owing to the uninterrupted run of the vaulting-shafts from pavement to vault—Westminster is a one-storied interior, simply a vault supported by triplets of marble shafts (90).

We have not done with the vaulting. It is one thing to put up a vault; it is quite another thing to induce it to stay up. Look at any of the vaults and you will see that the ribs are arranged in pairs, and that each pair forms an arch. Thus the whole skeleton of the vault consists of arches (90). But all arches are in a state of tension. Fix up a steel spring, arch-shaped, between two piles of books; it will never cease to struggle to get free as long as it has any life left in it. So it is with an arch; it never sleeps; it is always thrusting at the walls, trying to push them apart, that it may get free. Load an arch—the arches of the Westminster vaults are loaded with hundreds of tons of courses of ashlar—and it will thrust against the walls all the more mightily. The walls therefore have to be reinforced to withstand the thrusts of the vault; all the more since they are themselves weakened by the large area of the windows inserted in them. Therefore projecting masses of masonry, buttresses, shewn in the cross section on page 97, are built against the aisle walls at right angles to them. Thus the aisle walls are saved from being thrust out by the aisle vaults within.

Similarly the upper walls of the nave are strengthened against the thrusts of the high vaults within by being buttressed. Clerestory buttresses are illustrated on pages 99 and 97, running down through the triforium chamber to the pillar below which supports them. The clerestory buttresses are not large; if large, they would have overweighted the pillars, unless indeed

these latter had been made much more massive; in which case they would have largely diminished the floor space of nave and aisles. Therefore, just as a farmer puts up a timber prop against the side of a haystack to prevent it toppling over, so here the masons put up a straight bar of stones, and to carry the bar constructed beneath it a half arch of segmental curve: the combination constitutes a "flying buttress." The head of the flying buttress is bonded into the clerestory buttress; and is supported by a marble shaft (95); the foot of it is fixed into the aisle buttress. Thus the thrusts of the high vault are trans-



CROSS SECTION LOOKING WEST

SCALE OF FEET.

mitted, first to the aisle buttress, and ultimately to the ground. In England it is usual to employ but one flying buttress. But Westminster is so lofty that it was thought safer to employ two, superposed in French fashion. These are seen on the north side of the nave, which is on the right side of the cross section (97). It will be noticed that the arch of the lower flying buttress is brought right down through the triforium chamber. On the south side of the nave, the left side in the cross section, there was a yet further complication; for on that side there is the northern walk of the cloister as well as an aisle; and the buttress

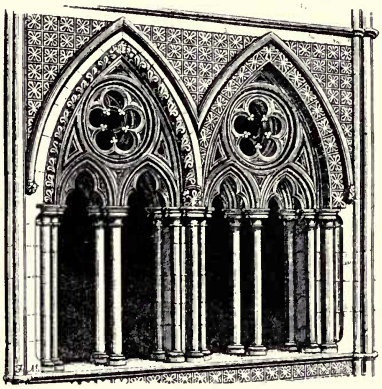
had to be placed, not outside the aisle as on the other side of the church, but outside the cloister walk, a long distance from the clerestory wall (103). A single gigantic flying buttress might have been built, flying through the air all the way from clerestory to cloister garth. But it was safer to clear the space at two jumps. So the aisle wall was run up high into the air in the form of lofty piers; and the flying buttresses were constructed in two flights; in the first passing from the clerestory wall to the intermediate pier, and in the second from the latter to the buttress in the garth. This is thoroughly French engineering.

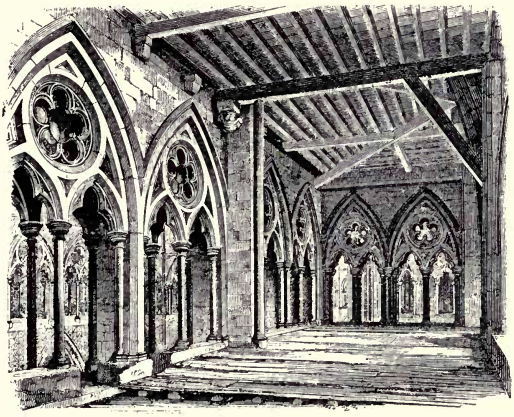
Finally, both the buttresses and the intermediate piers were made more stable by being weighted with pinnacles—one of the earliest examples in England of the employment of pinnacles on buttresses. Yet in spite of all these precautions Sir Christopher Wren reported that he found "the clerestory walls above the windows forced out ten inches and the ribs broken."

The abutment system has brought us out of doors. While there, we may see how the roofs are drained. At the foot of all the roofs, high or low, is a gutter; and in front of it rises a low wall; this has been rebuilt again and again, and its original form is now unknown. At some later time it was rebuilt with battlements, as shewn on page 128; and battlements are now in the course of being set up once more.* The gutter was pierced at intervals with holes, and originally projecting gargoyles shed the water well away from the walls: for this system modern pipes have been substituted.

Looking up, it will be seen that in all parts of the church except Henry VII.'s chapel, there are two tiers of windows in the aisles and chapels (128); but if we go inside the church, only one tier is visible (89). There must therefore be, and there is, another Westminster Abbey up aloft, which visitors do not see, and to which the upper triangular windows belong. It is a vast chamber, starting at the north-western tower, and passing over the north aisle of the nave and the west aisle of the north transept (13). Then it becomes a mere passage in the end wall, below the rose (271). Then it starts again, full size, over the eastern aisle of the north transept; passes not only over the ambulatory but over all the eastern chapels (except Henry VII.'s) as well; then over the eastern aisle of the south transept, where it is reduced to a passage in the

* Battlements are shewn in the representation of the church in the frieze of the reredos in the Confessor's chapel, *temp.* Edward IV.

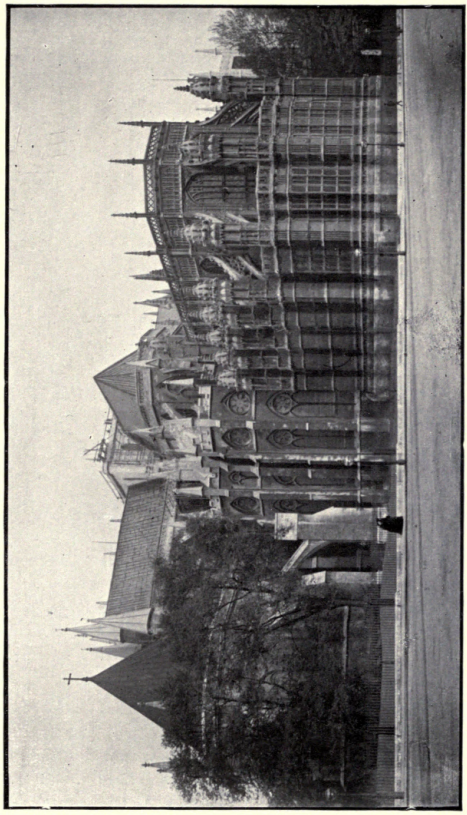




Interior of Triforium Chamber

thickness of the south wall (273). Then it starts again full size; but in the western aisle its floor is at a lower level, resting on the vault of the east walk of the cloister, and forming the muniment room. Then it passes westward over the south aisle of the nave till it reaches the south-western tower. This enormous chamber is the greatest puzzle at Westminster. It would hold thousands of people, but never has done so. Other vaulted churches, *e.g.*, Peterborough, have similar chambers, following the precedent of St Stephen's, Caen, with windows at the back. But the object of these is to provide an additional source of light for the gloomy Norman naves. That is not so at Westminster; very little light trickles through the triforium arcade into the nave, and the arcade itself is doubled (85) as if to prevent it. Sir Gilbert Scott suggested that the chamber was intended to provide extra accommodation at coronations and state funerals; but as a matter of fact from not more than one row of seats can the church below be seen. The expense of raising the aisle walls so considerably, and of providing the additional tier of windows, must have been enormous, and would not have been incurred unless this upper church had been intended to be used. That it was really meant to be used appears from the fact that it not only has windows to light it, but that the staircases leading up to it are numerous and broad; two persons can walk up abreast; a triforium not meant to be used for worship usually has but a narrow corkscrew staircase in the wall. Only one church throws any light on the mystery. That is Gloucester, which, it will be remembered, we suggested was designed after the manner of the Westminster of 1050. There, as in the present Westminster, the triforium chamber extends, not only over the aisles, as is usual elsewhere, but over the eastern chapels as well—a very rare arrangement. Now we know that the Norman Westminster had upper chapels, Gloucester-fashion. It would seem therefore that Henry III. determined that he also, like the Confessor, would have an upper church as well as the one on the ground floor. When however he died in 1272, he had not even been able to finish the lower church. The equipment of the upper church was not so much as begun; it remained, and remains to this day, an unused solitude. We must visit the upper church of Gloucester quire and transept, noting the piscinas and altars which still here and there survive, to realise what the upper church of Westminster was like in the Confessor's time, and what his own upper church was meant to be, but on a far more magnificent scale, by Henry III.

Externally, the noblest feature of Westminster is what must



Exterior from South-East

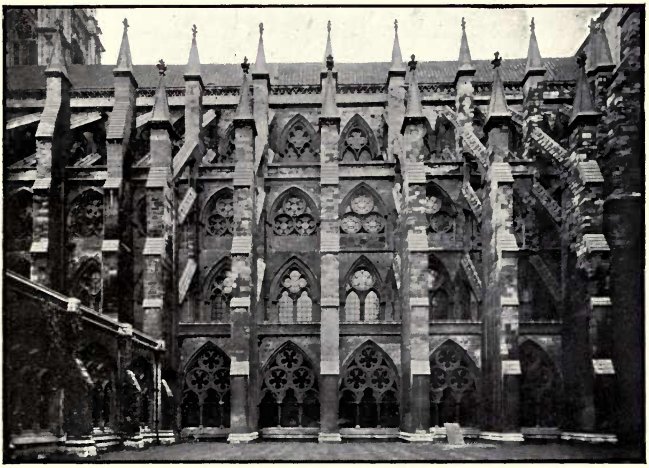
always have been the main entrance to the church—the North transept, "one of the most remarkable examples of the revival of the mediaeval spirit in modern times" (43). The composition of this façade is thoroughly French; its design much resembles that of the façades of Leon Cathedral in Spain, a church which, even more than Westminster, has its inspiration in the Ile de France. In front of it Richard II. built the so-called "Solomon's Porch," which has now gone.

The only point from which the masses of the abbey group satisfactorily is from the south-east (101), where the detached Chapter House is seen in connection with Henry VII.'s chapel and the sanctuary with its southern chapels and the south transept. The isolation of the Chapter House is very effective; it is however accidental. The Norman South transept was shorter than the present one; and when the present long transept replaced it, its south end had to be built over the site of the Norman Chapter House (11). And as it was not desired to rebuild the monks' dormitory with its undercroft, which was to the south, there was only left room for a narrow passage (12). The passage therefore became the present vestibule, and the Chapter House was rebuilt more to the east; and was made polygonal, after the manner of the Chapter Houses of Lincoln and elsewhere.

The crossing never had a central tower (101), nor was ever meant to have one—another peculiarity of the churches of the Ile de France. The piers of the Westminster crossing are much more slender than those of Salisbury. The upper parts of the western towers were probably added between 1725 and 1740, and are sadly incongruous (29). So far, therefore, as the tower system goes, Westminster has one of the poorest exteriors in England. Things are made worse still by the inordinate height to which the aisles were carried to hold the upper church; they hide from view much of the upper and more important part of the church; the same is the case with the aisles of Canterbury nave. From outside in both cases one fails altogether to get any idea of the vast height of the central nave (162). Nor is that all. Not only is there little clerestory wall seen, but that little is almost wholly shut out of sight by a forest of props and stays in the form of buttresses, flying buttresses, and pinnacles; seen in perspective not a glimpse is visible of the upper part of the nave. This, too, is very French: but is none the better for that. Yet people admire exteriors like this. But if any plain, straightforward man had been asked three years ago to admire the new War Office, he would have said: "How can I admire it? I can't see it; the scaffolding

is still up." So it is with Westminster; the scaffolding is still up.

In English rebuilding it was very common to build the new work round and outside or over the old work; which could then be retained in use till the new work was ready. Mr Micklethwaite was of opinion that this was so at Westminster. But such a procedure necessarily leads to all kinds of distortion in the setting out; "deviation of the axis," horizontal and vertical curves, and all sorts of irregularities abound. This is not the



The Nave from the Cloister

case with Henry III.'s work at Westminster. Complicated as is the plan of the eastern limb, it is set out with mathematical accuracy.* This could not be if the old work had not previously been wholly demolished and the site completely cleared. In the nave at any rate this must have been done; for the walls and the pillars stand precisely on the same axis as the old ones. It follows from this that always before each period of rebuilding there was an enormous mass of debris of the Norman church.

* Lethaby, 145, 152.

The simplest way to dispose of this rubble was to form foundations of it. This, no doubt, was done; and that is why the foundations of the church are so excellent; it is due to their excellence that the church has stood so splendidly in spite of the exceptional loftiness of its vault.*

* Excavations shewed that the north transept had foundations 9 feet broad of ashlar and rubble; and, lower down, a concrete foundation broader still (*Archæological Journal*, xxvii. 120).

CHAPTER XIII

FRENCH *v.* ENGLISH DESIGN IN HENRY III.'S CHURCH

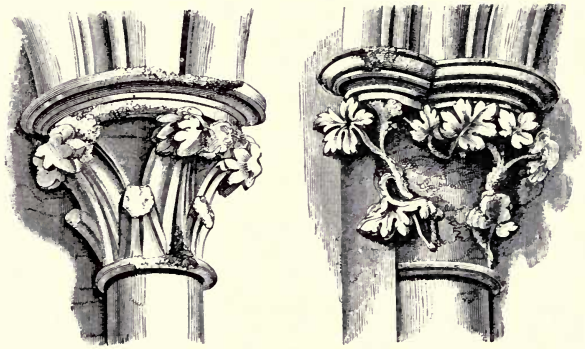
French *v.* English

Up to the time of Edward I. England was governed by dynasties of foreigners, whose interests abroad were at times far more considerable than those in England. The last of the French kings was Henry III. He was married to a French princess, Eleanor of Provence; the Palace was thronged with French princes and nobles; in the monastery of Westminster French was the language employed.* Henry himself had seen much of France; he was acquainted with the quire of St Denis, finished in 1144, the cradle of the Gothic of the Ile de France, and with Notre Dame, Paris, consecrated in 1182. The quire of Rheims Cathedral had been commenced in 1211, that of Troyes Cathedral *c.* 1214, that of Auxerre Cathedral *c.* 1215; Amiens nave had been begun in 1220; the Sainte Chapelle in Paris had been begun in 1241; some at any rate of these masterpieces of French creative genius must also have been known to him. It is therefore not surprising that French inspiration may be detected again and again in his church at Westminster. It may be worth while to collect those features of plan and design which are French and English respectively.

* When a portion of St Benedict's Rule was read in Chapter House, it was the duty of the Prior to translate the Latin into French for the benefit of the more simple of the brethren; "propter simpliciores fratres Gallico exponere ydiomate" (Ware, 10). Elsewhere he says that English is not to be spoken in the school of the novices or anywhere else in the cloister; nor is Latin to be employed, unless the Prior wishes to say something in Latin; but French is to be employed at all times in the cloister, as in the Chapter House, by each and all. "In scola (noviciorum), sicut nec alibi in claustro debet Anglico ydiomate aliquid proferri; sed neque Latino, nisi prior . . . Latine quidquam velit exprimere; sed Gallice jugiter, sicut et in capitulo, ab omnibus et a singulis in claustro est loquendum" (Ware, 164). At St Augustine's, Canterbury, also, French was ordered to be spoken always in the cloister (*Customary*, i. 210).

The following factors seem to be pre-eminently French. In England the plan of semicircular ambulatory and radiating chapels had practically gone out of use in the thirteenth century (11). The fact, however, that this plan existed in the Confessor's church at Westminster would have weight in inducing the King to accept its French equivalent, viz., one with apse and chapels polygonal instead of semicircular (12). The eastern limb too is very short; whereas the English churches, *e.g.*, Canterbury, Old St Paul's, Lincoln, Ely, were planning their eastern limbs of great length—long enough to hold the quire as well as the sanctuary. Again, the central piers are slender, as in the Ile de France, so that no central tower was possible. The vast height of the clerestory vaults is French. The proportions of the church, with height thrice the span of the nave, are French; as also the ratio of the heights of ground story, triforium, and clerestory (81). The great height of the aisles and pier-arches, and still more of the clerestory, is French. The whole lighting system is French. Traceried windows in England were in 1245 but few and far between; and combinations of lancets almost universal; here there is no example of elaborated lancet composition. Moreover this tracery has for centrepiece an exceptionally large cusped circle, as was the fashion in Amiens nave and other recent French Gothic (81). The lower lights too of each window, especially in the transepts, are much broader than was usual in English design. And in the aisles and chapels no masonry is left flanking the windows; they occupy the whole breadth from buttress to buttress. The scale of the great rose windows in the transepts might be paralleled in Old St Paul's; but nowhere else in England are the roses set in squares (273). More in harmony too with the design of Champagne than of England is the continuous wall passage in front of the windows of the aisles and chapels (39); un-English also is the absence of a wall passage in front of the clerestory windows (90). Externally the system of abutment, with pinnacles and with flying buttresses superposed, and on the cloister side disposed in double flights, is French through and through (97). And certainly no one but a Frenchman would have inserted the marble shafts which prop up the heads of the flying buttresses (95). These started at the floor of the triforium chamber; where nearly all the bases remain, and several of the shafts (99). Round the apse they are twofold, *i.e.*, there is one under the head of each superposed flying buttress; these latter have been replaced recently. Wholly French is the noble façade of the North transept, with its cavernous porches (43). Two capitals in St Benedict's chapel are certainly by a French carver;

one has the "celery" stalk; the other has naturalistic foliage (107). In the high vault of the eastern nave there is a magnificent boss composed of branches and leaves of roses; this vault was built between 1260 and 1272. In the Chapter House the spandrils of the arcading are diapered, and "one of the diaper patterns is a most beautiful trellis of naturalistically treated rose"; * this was carved *c.* 1250. And these renderings of actual foliage are not the timid essays of beginners, such as may be seen in Lincoln presbytery (1256-1280), but betoken complete familiarity with and mastery of the new method of design. In England, as a rule, naturalistic foliage does not become general till *c.* 1280. And perhaps we may attribute to familiarity with French



Capitals in St Benedict's Chapel

practice the fact that the new work of Henry III. was not built round and over the top of that of the Confessor in usual English fashion, but that the latter was pulled down and the ground cleared, so that the new church should be accurately set out.

Now let us see how far English ways prevailed. In the first place the transept was given greater projection than was usual in French churches of the day; this was probably because, out of the four aisles of the transepts, two were wanted as gangways, and one to hold a cloister walk; thus only one of the four was available for chapels. Other changes are made for ritualistic purposes. Of these the most important are the remodelling of

* Lethaby, 46

the plan of the radiating chapels (63) and the construction of a vast upper church both over chapels and aisles. Other things were done in the English way, because the English way was the better; this was so with the ribbing of the vaults (90) and the coursing of their cells (89); and the non-construction of a solid wall behind the arcades of the triforium. It was better too to bring the vaulting-shafts down to the ground than to rest them on the abacus of the capitals of the ground story, as was so often done in France (81). The use of Purbeck marble was an English improvement also; the Purbeck masons turned abaci, capitals, bands, and bases in the lathe, and could supply the pillar and shafts with full complement of molded members. Being lathe work moreover the abacus became circular on plan, not square as in France. And as the masons were almost wholly English, the masonry is English in details; *e.g.*, the sections of the moldings, and the foliage of capitals and scroll work (86). The presence of a hoodmold over the arches is also an English feature. Matthew Paris says that French and English artisans were gathered together; but very few of the former can have been masons; Sir Gilbert Scott could not find traces of more than one French carver; we needed no lessons in masonry. No doubt the foreign workmen were painters, imagers, enamellers, and goldsmiths, and those who put down the pavement of the sanctuary (174) and St Edward's chapel (244), and built the shrine of St Edward (23) and the tomb of Henry III. (241). The Chapter House is wholly English in plan: polygonal Chapter Houses are unknown in France.

It is plain that the English are largely outbalanced by the French elements in the design. Practically, in all essentials, it is a French church. And being un-English and alien, it was unpopular; and in spite of its wonderful beauty had little influence on English architecture, which for the most part went on its way as if no Westminster had ever been built; the only important exception is the north transept at Hereford.*

The precise way in which the French influence was brought to bear is difficult to determine. But some things stand out. If the church was designed by a Frenchman, it was certainly not carried out by him. We have no documentary evidence that a French architect was present; the fabric rolls prove conclusively that the works were directed by Henry of Westminster

* Its straight-sided arches may be reminiscences of the vestibule of the Westminster Chapter House; while the upper windows of the east side of the transept are certainly inspired by the triangular windows of the upper chapels of Westminster.

from 1245 to 1253, by John of Gloucester from 1254 to 1262, and by Robert of Beverley from 1262 to 1269. The question now becomes—Is this a church designed by some one to whom French planning and French design were unfamiliar and alien, or one who knew it *au fond?* The question has only to be put to be answered. It is utterly impossible that Westminster can have been designed by anybody but one who was born and bred in the great French school of the Ile de France and Champagne, who had practised in that school of design only, and who knew nothing else. No English architect, whether he went to France on a short or on a lengthened visit * to study French Gothic on the spot, could have designed Westminster; certainly not Henry of Westminster. He had no time to spare for foreign travel and study; he was a man in big practice, having in hand in 1244 the fortification of York, as well as building going on at St George's, Windsor, and no doubt other work. If however he did take a brief run over to France, and then return and draw out his plans and elevations, we should find in some part of every one of them the English touch. Instead of this, one sees in essentials French Gothic pure and simple, without the slightest tincture of contemporary English design. The inference seems indisputable; that the church was planned and designed by an architect practising in France.

The specifications given to the French architect must have been very precise; *e.g.*, he must have known that the grand façade would always be to the north and not to the west. The plans and drawings supplied by him need not have been numerous, nor on the large scale and with the high finish of modern draughtsmanship. There would be (1) the plan of the whole church; (2) the internal elevation of one bay; (3) a cross section of the church showing the abutment system; and (4) certainly an elevation of the façade of the north transept. People in the thirteenth century could say what they meant quite clearly in drawings; Professor Lethaby in his *Mediaeval Art*, pp. 249 and 260, reproduces a plan of a quire with ambulatory and radiating chapels and a drawing of a proposed west front; both are of the thirteenth century and French. Nor was it unknown for one architect to design a church, and another to build it; this was so at St Nazaire, Carcasonne, designed *c.* 1310 by some architect of the North of France, who left others to carry out the work. In London itself in 1381 Nicholas Typerton is found covenanting to build an aisle to St Dunstan's, Thames

* Sir Gilbert Scott says, "I should imagine that an English architect, or master of the works, was commissioned to visit the great cathedrals then in process of erection in France" (*Gleanings*, 20).

Street, "selon la devyse de Master Henry Ivelighe."* This then seems to have been the state of things at Westminster; it was designed by a Frenchman but built by Englishmen; and if, as is probable, the original architect never came near the work, we may well be surprised not that there is so much but that there is so little English work in it. What modifications were made would have of course first to be submitted to the building committee; such modifications as those of the chapel planning and the upper church would probably be due to the wishes of the King and the Abbot of Westminster; but such changes as were involved in the construction of the vaults, the employment of hoodmolds, the profiles of the moldings, &c., would no doubt come from Henry of Westminster himself. Such then seems the probable genesis of this great church; it is a joint work of King Henry III., a passionate lover of architecture, an English architect, Henry of Westminster, and, most important of all, an architect of the Ile de France or Champagne.

* Lethaby, 214.

PART IV

CHAPTER XIV

WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

In the preceding chapters the great work has been described which was accomplished in the reign of Henry III. But on his death in 1272 the completion of the rebuilding of the church was abandoned, and the works were suddenly stopped; the western bays of the Norman nave, as shewn on page 12, were allowed to stand for nearly another century. There was more than one reason for the stoppage. For one thing, Henry III. had so harried every one, Jews and Christians alike, to get funds for his new church, that the name of Westminster Abbey doubtless stank in the nostrils of the whole country.

Another important factor in the situation was that there was a rival Royal chapel in the Palace, that of St Stephen; and the three Edwards seem to have preferred not to share the glory of Henry III.'s work in the Abbey, but to have an independent memorial of their piety and munificence. This took the form of the rebuilding of St Stephen's chapel, which was begun in 1292 under Edward I.; the works were carried forward by Edward II., and completed by Edward III., probably about 1348, when it was made a collegiate church for a dean and twelve secular canons, and was provided with a very large endowment. There was moreover a special reason for the loss of Royal favour; viz., the cloud of suspicion and disrepute which clung to the Abbey after the enormous thefts * from the Royal Treasury beneath the Chapter house, in which some of the monks were undoubtedly implicated. Nothing was left for the monks but to finish the rebuilding of the nave out of their own scanty resources instead of at the expense of the sovereign.

* See page 74.

Any idea however the monks may have had of finishing the nave themselves must have been frustrated for the time by the vast conflagration which occurred in 1298. Fortunately it did not reach the church; but almost the whole of the monastic buildings were consumed. All the most important buildings as usual were grouped round the cloister—the dormitory on the east, and still further east the infirmary; the refectory on the south; and the abbot's hall (now the Deanery) on the west;* all these great buildings, together with all of the cloister that was not vaulted, were burnt down, and the monks were homeless. The work of replacing these, the building of a new gatehouse, and the repairs of the great belfry,† swallowed up all the resources of the convent till late in the fourteenth century.

Temporary buildings must have been hastily put up after the fire to shelter the monks; but the whole of the damage was not made good till the time of Abbot Litlyngton (1362 to 1386), who completed the renewal of the monastic buildings in stone, mainly with the aid of the great fortune which had been bequeathed by Cardinal Langham but which had been intended to be expended in the completion of the nave.

One of the earliest parts of this work is to be seen in the east walk of the cloister, where the southernmost bays, in which the windows have Kentish tracery (281), are the work of Abbot Byrcheston, 1344 to 1349. There is an entry in the accounts for 1345 that "120 marks were received from the Abbot for making a cloister."

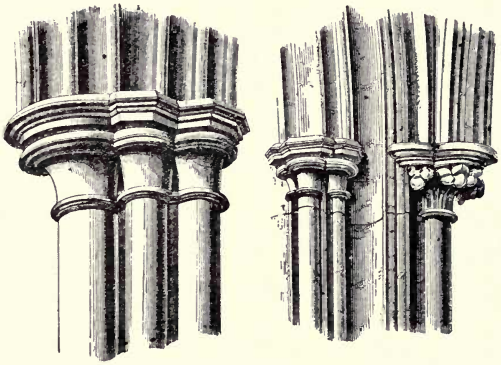
Then the whole of the southern (293) and most of the western (305) walk of the cloister was rebuilt by Abbot Langham, afterwards Cardinal, and Abbot Litlyngton. Simon Langham succeeded Byrcheston as abbot in 1349 and remained in office till 1362. He seems to have set to work at the cloister almost at once, for great quantities of stone and other materials were purchased between 1350 and 1353. In 1352 there was bought "60 feet of ragstone for the work of the Prior in the cloister." In the same year "a bag of lead was bought for strengthening the joints of the vaulting" of the cloister. In 1353 "a bedder of stone was hired for a week for the expedition of the vaulting work on account of the danger of frost." In 1354 "one bedder of stone was making the foundation of the work on the side of the refectory"; evidently the south walk;

* It is possible that up to 1298 the west side of the cloister was occupied by the Cellarer's block.

† This was finished in 1253, and survived till 1750; the Guildhall later was built on its site. It is described and illustrated in Lethaby, 56, 155. It was famous for the big bells presented by Henry III.

and "one mason was hired for four weeks to make keys, *i.e.*, bosses, to the vaultings." In 1355 stone was bought for the vaulting. In 1356 the cellarer was building a new furnace for lead; perhaps for the lead covering of the cloister roofs. In 1357 "a door was made in the south part of the cloister"; probably the farther doorway shewn on page 293, leading into the refectory. In 1360 "ironwork was bought for three windows in the cloister, erected this year"; perhaps to enable them to be glazed.* In 1362 "metal was bought for making a new 'cimbal' or bell in the cloister." In this year Langham leaves Westminster, and is succeeded by Litlyngton, who was abbot till 1386.

The new abbot went on with the work in the cloister; but there can have been but little to do; for two years later it is



Capitals in East Cloister

expressly recorded that the accounts for the cloister work were finally balanced, "*the cloister being finished.*" The strange thing about it is that though Langham had been working at the cloister for some twelve years, and Litlyngton but two, the whole credit for it is given by the historians to the latter. Moreover it is the initials of Nicholas Litlyngton, and not those of Simon Langham, which appear on the bosses of the vault (*e.g.*, in the first boss illustrated on page 293). The reason may be that Litlyngton, as Prior, was in actual charge of the work till 1362, even if not as Custos.

While the cloister was being built, and before, other great

* See page 282.

works were going on; most of which were completed by Litlyngton, who again gets the credit for the whole of the work. One of the most important was the rebuilding of the Infirmary hall.* The great Dormitory also had to be rebuilt (295). The Refectory also was rebuilt, except the lower portion of the walls; its northern wall still exists (15). The great range of the cellarer's offices and guest house with its vaulted undercroft facing Dean's Yard, is another of Litlyngton's works; as also the three vaulted entrances leading through the block to the south cloister, the kitchen yard, and what is now the quadrangle of Westminster School. He also rebuilt the great kitchen, the malthouse,† and the water-mill, with its dam, and a stone wall round the garden. The present Deanery was built by him as his own residence; including the Jerusalem chamber (303) and the Abbot's hall (301) together with the adjoining kitchen. The outer parlour is also his work (304). Nor was this all; in consequence of the "great wind" of 1362, he was obliged to rebuild several of his manor houses.‡ With such a vast accumulation of building on hand, no wonder that Byrcheston, Langham, and Litlyngton had long to postpone the rebuilding of the western bays of the nave.

In 1362 Langham left Westminster and became successively Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina. Cardinal Langham acquired great wealth; § and, though living far away at Avignon, was as devoted as ever to the house where he had been professed some twenty-two years before; ‖ and being very desirous that the nave should at last

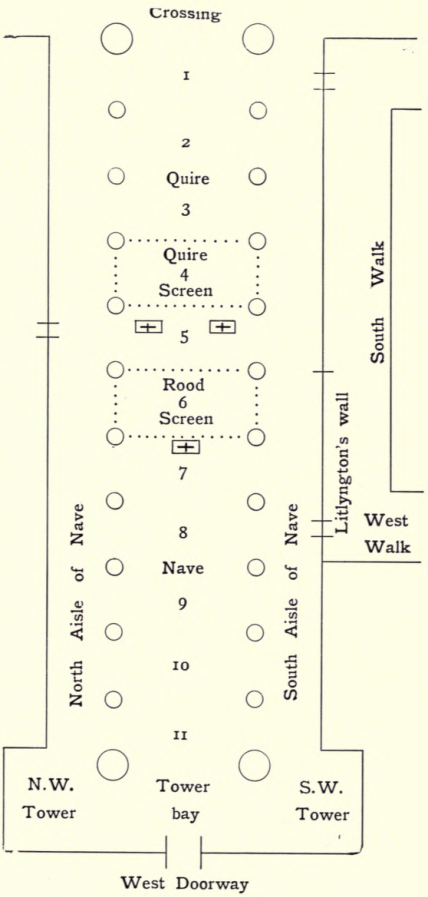
* See page 296.

† The malthouse cost more than £700; which is equivalent to over £10,500 of our money.

‡ "Hujus abbatis tempore . . . aedificata sunt a fundamentis de novo tota placea abbatis juxta ecclesiam; dimidium autem claustri ex partibus occidente et australi; domus quorumdam officiariorum, ut puta ballivi, infirmarii, sacristae et celerarii; magnum malthous cum turri ibidem; molendinum aquaticum et le dam cum muris lapideis, cum clausura lapidea gardini infirmariae" (Flete's *History*, 135).

§ Cardinal Langham died in July 1376, and it was found that he had left to his old abbey what is equivalent to £117,000. "Residuum vero dictorum fructuum et omnia alia bona mea, quaecunque et qualiacunque, ubicunque reperta fuerint, lego *fatricae* monasterii Westmonasterii."

‖ Flete speaks of Langham in the highest terms, above any other of the Abbots of Westminster. "Dum pater iste venerabilis praesidebat, quanta dilectione conventum tractaverit, quantum ad commune fratrum commodum strenuus insudaverit, quantaque industria quorumdam insolentias, abusiones, singularitates, superfluitates et malitias exstirpaverit, qualem ordinis disciplinam jam per aliquorum voluntarios usus vitiatam sagaciter introduxerit, calens adhuc recolit memoria; et si sileat lingua, clamant opera et ipsa probant acta ad praesens usitata. . . . Idem autem monasterium



Plan of Nave and Quire

be finished, he engaged in 1375 to provide a large contribution every year as long as he lived. Next year therefore, Litlyngton started work on the nave; he writes to the Cardinal: "Since Michaelmas there have been seven masons continually at work, and three at the quarry at Reigate; and since Christmas ten masons to pull down the side of the old church next the cloister. And now all is in readiness for rising 12 feet in height, and 3 pillars in length. . . . I myself laid the first stone on the 1st Monday in Lent"; this was 3rd March 1376.* What was pulled down must have been the 6th, 7th, and 8th bays of the south aisle wall, counting from the east (115). Then the aisle wall was rebuilt, and the three adjacent bays of the Norman cloister were rebuilt and vaulted; these are the westernmost bays of the north walk of the cloister; one of them contains the doorway from the west walk into the south aisle of the nave (41); the other two bays of the cloister differ from the bays east of them in having no arcading on the walls. It is true that the accounts for 1365 speak of "the cloister being finished" in that year; but this cannot refer to the bays in question; for they are set out to correspond with the divisions of the present nave, and not with those of the Norman one; moreover before these bays could have been vaulted the adjoining aisle wall must have been previously rebuilt to support their vaulting on the north side. This then is probably the first step taken in rebuilding the nave; three bays of the Norman aisle wall were demolished and the present wall erected in their stead.

No Fabric Rolls are in existence for the rest of Litlyngton's abbacy; but it is unlikely that he did any more work except that mentioned above. He probably did not erect the pillars adjacent to his aisle wall, for they are of marble, and the first payment for the marble of a pillar does not occur till 1387, a year after his death.

The rebuilding of the rest of the nave is difficult to follow. The work however may be divided into six distinct portions. The builders did not build up all three stories vertically bay by bay, finishing the ground story, triforium, and clerestory of one bay before they went on to the next bay; but first they erected all the pillars and arches of the ground story on both sides of the nave, at the same time no doubt rebuilding to part of their height the adjacent aisle walls; this stage of the work occupied

in tam debita regula et sub tam bono gubernaculo stabilivit, quod etsi nihil aliud boni fecisset, secundum dicta seniorum ecclesiae fundatori merito poterat comparari" (*History*, 130, 131, 132). See also the Dean of Westminster's paper on *Simon Langham*.

* Dean of Westminster in *Church Quarterly Review*, 66, 339.

the years 1388 to 1402 or 1403 when the last payment for a marble pillar was made. In the second stage of the work the triforium was built on both sides of the nave, and both aisles were completed and roofed. This brings us to 1418. The third stage consists in the roofing and glazing of one bay of the clerestory by Millyng in 1469. The fourth stage consists of the roofing of the rest of the high nave between 1472 and 1478; the building of the clerestory wall on which it rested had probably been going on intermittently from 1402. The fifth stage consists in the erection of the flying buttresses of the nave in 1480-1482, the high vaults in 1482-1490 and 1494-1497; and the vaulting of the side aisles, with the exception probably of their westernmost bays, 1490-1494. In the sixth period the remaining vaults in or near the towers are put up; the clerestory windows are glazed; and finally the nave is paved in the years 1510-1517.*

As regards the two lower stories of the nave, starting at the crossing to the east, Henry III. had built five bays of the ground story and triforium, but only four bays of the clerestory (114). Of the former there were left six to build, and of the latter seven (excluding in both cases the bay between the western towers).

As we have seen, the Edwards cared little for the Abbey. The first real start was made in the reign of Richard II., who was devoted to the Abbey.† His successor, Henry IV., reversed his policy, and would do nothing for Westminster; though he died in the Abbot's lodging there, he was buried at Canterbury. On the other hand his remorseful son, Henry V., did an immense amount of work in the Abbey, and is buried in it. Henry VI.'s reign was calamitous, and he had besides other great foundations more to his heart, Eton, and King's College, Cambridge. A considerable amount of work was done in the reign of

* Up to 1416 my authorities are (1) the Fabric Roll of 1253; those of 1267-1410; and those of 1413-1416, printed in *Gleanings*, pages 231, 253, and 212; (2) Widmore's *History;* (3) From 1416 to 1517 the documentary evidence is almost wholly derived from Rev. R. B. Rackham, who has kindly put at my disposal the proofs of his important paper on the *Novum Opus* (see Bibliography). Mr Rackham however is not responsible for my interpretation of the evidence, which in some cases differs from his. I should also warn the reader that my account of the history of the nave is quite inconsistent with the longitudinal section of the nave shewn in Mr Micklethwaite's paper in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. li.

† Richard II. greatly venerated St Edward of Westminster. On the vigil of the feast of the translation of St Edward in 1390 he attended both vespers and compline. He was also present at matins at midnight. On the day of the festival he was present at the procession, and afterwards both he and the Queen attended High Mass (*An Unrecognised Westminster Chronicler*, 28).

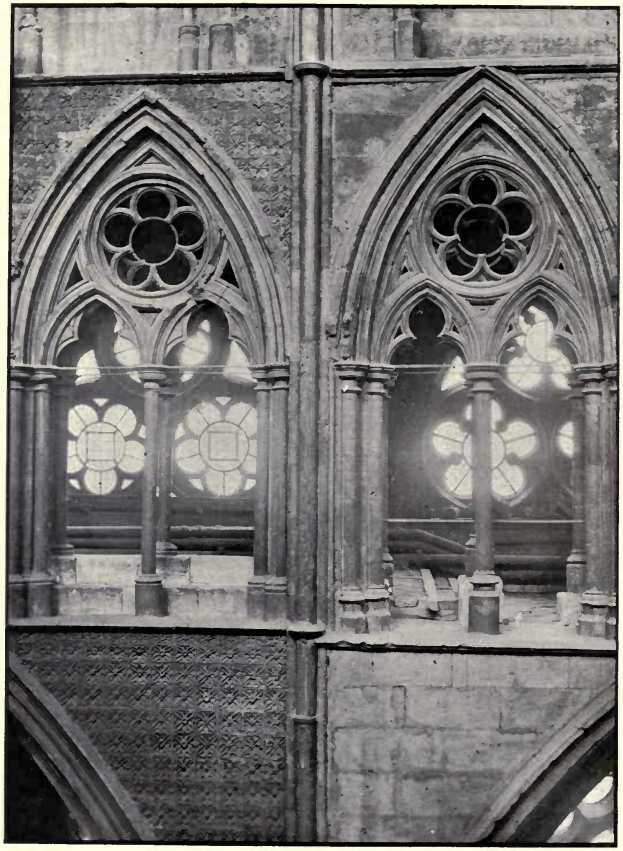
Edward IV., which was carried to completion mainly in the reign of Henry VII.

After Litlyngton's death in 1386 the abbacy passed to William Colchester, and as soon as he had settled matters with the Pope and the King, he set to work in real earnest. He remained in office till 1420; and is responsible for the two first stages of the work. In 1388 we hear of "three labourers breaking down the walls of the old church"; a sure sign that the work was being resumed. And there were payments to Corfe for Purbeck "marble" and "marble columns" in 1387, 8, 1390, 3, 4, 6, 8, 1400, 1, 3; besides large quantities of freestone, scaffolding, &c. Most of the Purbeck pillars cost £40 (=£600). One in 1390 cost £70 (=£1,050); this must have been a larger pillar; probably one of the two at the corners of the western towers, shewn in section 97. The first columns to be erected would probably be those in the south aisle, which it would be desirable to get in order as soon as possible for processions entering from the west cloister. The earliest portion of this work is clearly distinguishable from the later work to the west by the lighter colour of the masonry of the spandrils of the ground story. The choice of marble for the pillars is contrary to the wishes expressed to Litlyngton by Cardinal Langham, who said that he would be quite satisfied that they should be of freestone. Fortunately no notice was taken of this, and Colchester built them of Purbeck marble, to match those of Henry the Third's quire. In the first of the new bays, No. 5, there would be two altars; in the sixth bay would be the rood screen, and in the seventh an altar (115). When these three bays of the nave were being rebuilt, either the three altars and the rood screen must have been removed; or, if it was desired to retain them in use, they must have been walled off and roofed in; a wall being run up across the nave at the end of the 7th bay from the east, and side walls between or inside the new pillars. That the altars and screen were retained is probable from the fact that these three bays were the last of those in the nave to receive a high vault. To give access to them under cover from the doorway of the western cloister, it would be desirable to roof in the adjacent bays of the south aisle. Now it appears that "the window to the left of the doorway into the west walk of the cloister formerly had in its glazing the badge of the White Hart";* and as the White Hart was the badge of Richard II., it follows that the south aisle, at any rate as far as that window, was ready for glazing before his

* Lethaby, 204.

death in 1399; and it would not be glazed before it was roofed. This temporary roof, however, would be at quite a low level, for the triforium was not yet commenced. Altogether considerable sums were being spent in Richard's reign till the disastrous events at the close of it stopped the supplies. There were spent what was equivalent to £7,140 in 1394; £6,645 in 1395, £3,795 in 1396, £5,655 in 1397, £3,360 in 1398; and we may picture to ourself the nave as consisting of nothing but two rows of pillars and arches with unfinished aisle walls, a walled off enclosure in its eastern bays, and a low-roofed south aisle extending from the west cloister doorway to Henry the Third's quire aisle.

Now we come to the second stage of the Novum Opus. In 1413 Henry V. came to the throne, and at once issued a commission to look after the works, "circa perfectionem et constructionem Navis," consisting of Prior Harweden and Sir Richard Whittington, the famous Lord Mayor of London. Their accounts shew an expenditure in four years of about £21,000 of our money, an average of £5,250 per annum. The pier arcades must have been completed previously, for six bays of the triforium were at once taken in hand. This is shewn by the payment of £16 (=£240) for twenty-four pillars of marble. For in the present triforium of the western bays of the nave there are only four marble shafts in each bay; thus the twenty-four shafts bought would be precisely the number wanted to build the triforium of one side of the church. In 1417 the Fabric Roll shews a purchase of twenty-four more marble shafts. This would enable the triforium of the other side of the nave, probably the north side, to be built. We conclude therefore that in the western bays of the nave the ground story was built mainly in the reign of Richard II., but that the triforium of these bays on both sides of the nave is of the time of Henry V. It would seem that the builders began at the west end, and built from west to east. If they had begun at the east, their string courses would have been at the same level as those of Henry the Third's work, which they are not (120). The south aisle was roofed, but not vaulted, in 1415; the north aisle also in 1418. There is an entry of the purchase of lead in 1418 "for the covering of the northern side of the church," which shews that the north aisle was roofed after the south aisle. The next business would be to commence the clerestory. But Abbot Colchester died in 1420, and two years later the munificent supporter of the *Novum Opus*, King Henry the Fifth, died also. Moreover the great cost of the French war and the king's long absence from England seem to have curtailed his contributions; for of £88,000 promised by him



Junction of 13th and 14th Century Work in the Nave

during this reign only £54,000 was received; the rest of the expense was made up by the convent out of its own resources. If we assume that the builders had some £60,000 at their disposal during 1403 and 1413, and that they built the whole of the triforium and finished and roofed the aisles with the money, they cannot have had much to spare with which to carry up the clerestory; a commencement however may have been made.

The year 1418 is followed by great slackening in the work. One would expect that it would be marked by much weathering of the delicate moldings and detail of the triforium arcade. But this is not so. Some measures must have been taken to prevent damage from the weather. We know that it was usual to give the upper part of the walls a temporary protection. In 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271 payments are recorded for "hollowed (or "fluted") tiles, litter and reeds, bought for covering the walls of the works aforesaid." Later also, in 1489, two carpenters were paid for "covering the walls of the new work," and two tilers were also employed on the same job; lead was also used for this purpose "super muros novi operis": the covering of the walls ("coopertura murorum") with tiling and lead becomes almost an annual charge. Some such course must have been adopted at this time also.

We now come to the third stage of the Novum Opus. From his examination of the Fabric Rolls Mr Rackham came to the conclusion that the work nearly stopped from 1418 to the death of Henry V. in 1422; that in the early part of the reign of Henry VI. under Abbot Harweden (1423 to 1440) progress was slow but steady; that under Abbots Kyrton and Norwych (1440-1467) it was at a very low ebb. The first important piece of work was confined to a single bay of the clerestory. This was in the time of Millyng, who was *Custos Novi Operis* in 1468. In that year he paid carpenters £500 "for scaffolding and machines, and the erection of the roof of the *novum opus*"; and he acknowledges a debt of over £500 "for lead and solder unto a new severy ('bay') upon the new work"; the magnitude of the sums shews that it must have been a bay of the high nave that was being roofed. In the same year he employed ten or eleven masons a week; this would be for the clerestory wall and the mullions and tracery of two of its windows, one on each side of the nave. In the same year two glaziers work for 92 days at glazing two windows in the nave, and payment is paid for paper for their drawings, a brick furnace, and coloured glass. These windows are evidently those in the 5th bay from the east. For if these are examined, it will be found that they range neither with Henry the Third's windows to the east, nor with Esteney's

windows to the west.* Their situation is also fixed by the fact that in the same year a payment was made for "a partition at the end of the quire." Henry the Third had built only four bays of the clerestory, and must have put up a partition of some sort at the end of its 4th bay. Millyng now builds a 5th bay; and, now that this 5th bay is thrown into the quire, he has to build a new partition to the west of it Millyng became abbot in the following year, and after completing his single bay, he seems to have set to work to finish the rest of the clerestory; year by year payments are made for the covering of the walls, pointing each time to the completion of the walls to their full height, when they are furnished with protection till such time as it shall be possible to roof them. Probably however not many bays were finished; for Millyng had not received as much support from the king as he may have expected; the total contributions from Edward the Fourth, his Queen and their young son, between 1461 and 1474 amounted only to £6,500; to which however should be added "80 oaks presented towards the new building of the nave."

The fourth period is marked by the accession of Esteney, who was abbot from 1474 to 1498. As for the clerestory, its wall may have been built to some height, but not its windows; had these been in existence, we may be sure that they would have been copied by Millyng in the 5th bay. Esteney bought on an average 200 loads of stone each year, and employed six regular masons for nine years (1471-1479); from 1423 to 1440 the average had been 65 loads of stone and three masons; the average for 1440 to 1450 is lower still. We conclude that all the clerestory windows are Esteney's work, and much of the walling. At the same time the roofing was going on. As the roof was 132 feet from the ground, very lofty and expensive scaffolding was necessary; and for this and for the roof Esteney bought 103 and begged 132 oaks. Esteney succeeded in roofing three bays in 1474 and the remaining three bays of the nave in 1478. He commenced where Millyng left off; roofing successively bays 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (115).

We now reach the fifth stage. A council of war is held. Three eminent architects are sent for, and they seem to have recommended that flying buttresses should next be erected with a view to putting up the vault.† Their advice was followed. Flying buttresses were put up between 1477 and 1482, cramped

* The southern of these is shewn on page 103.

† It is noteworthy that both in the clerestory and the aisles of the nave the vaults were not put till after the roofs; and that the flying buttresses of the nave were erected before the vault.

with iron pins. At last everything was ready for the high vault. The first section of it, two bays, was begun in 1482, under the supervision of the Prior of Westminster, Robert Essex, "*supervisor operum voltorum*"; and the second section, of three bays, was let out by contract to Robert Stowell, who completed his work in 1490. The builders of these five bays of the high vault probably commenced at the west end of the nave, not at the east. If they had begun at the west end of the 6th bay, their vault would have had nothing to abut it to the east except the unsubstantial air, for Henry the Third's clerestory and vault stopped at the end of the 4th bay from the east. On the other hand, if they began at the west, they could carry up so much of two western towers as was needful to give abutment to the vault. In these six bays the bosses are foliated, and their leafage is of bulbous type; and among the bosses is what appears to be a "rose en soleil," badge of Edward IV. At the east end of the 8th bay is a boss which is a Tudor rose; this boss may have been carved in or after 1485, when Henry the Seventh came to the throne. When the 7th bay was finished, there was still a gap of two bays to arrive at Henry the Third's vault, the end of which is exactly over the western face of the quire screen. These two bays now have vaults. The question arises, Were they vaulted by Esteney between 1490 and his death in 1498, or were they vaulted in 1504 and 5 by Abbot Islip? It has been urged that the latter was the case, because undoubtedly much vaulting was done by Islip in this year. But the statements of John Felix and Widmore seem to be conclusive in favour of Esteney. The former says that Abbot Esteney provided "that the building of this minster should go forward; so that both the vaultings of the new work, that is, both the higher and the lower vaulting . . . were fully completed while he was yet alive."* John Felix was a monk at Westminster from 1525 to 1537. It is almost impossible, that, being in daily intercourse with many who had seen the vault erected, he could have made the mistake of attributing the work of his own abbot, Islip, to Esteney. The statement of the accurate Widmore is equally clear: "In the time of Esteney the building of the west end of the church went on very well; the vaultings were finished, and the great west window set up." The architectural evidence points the same way. The five westernmost bays had been finished in 1490. Nevertheless the very next year finds Esteney buying "twenty great stones each too big for a single cart." These are evidently great bosses intended for the high vault. What became of them? It is

* John Felix, *apud* Rackham.

hardly likely that they were hoarded up till Islip began his vaulting in 1501. The probability is that they were used up by Esteney himself in the years 1494-1497, when there is "an increase in the masons' activity and the number of masons is increased from five to eight." Again, these bays, 5 and 6, required flying buttresses just as much as the rest, but Islip is not recorded to have built any flying buttresses. The flying buttresses of bays 5 and 6 were built by Esteney; it is probable therefore that he also built the vaults. Again, the method employed at Westminster in constructing the vaults was to erect scaffolds with a great wheel on them, such as is drawn in the Islip Roll, and pulleys and other machinery for lifting heavy weights; then, when the bay was vaulted, the scaffold and the centres of the vaulting were taken down and put up again in the adjoining bay. All the bays of the nave were of the same area, and the centres and planks, on which the ribs and cells of one bay had been constructed, could be used in the next. Esteney's centres therefore, which had been employed in vaulting bay 7, could be employed again in vaulting bay 6. But we find that Islip did not employ the centres which had been in use in 1490. Instead of that we find that there are sawn for Islip in 1504 "between 17,000 and 18,000 elm boards and 'slyttenwerk' for the new vault of the church." Evidently this vault was not one of the vaults in the nave, but a vault of different area; probably one or more of the vaults in or near the towers. Again, four bays of the vaults have the Abbey arms, a mitre and a crozier: in the 6th bay and the tower bay it is a mitre sinister, whereas in the north-west tower and the westernmost bay of the south aisle it is a mitre dexter. Now the mitre sinister occurs on the tombs of Abbots Langham, Esteney, and Fascet, and in Islip's chapel. And so the bays in which the mitre sinister occurs are as likely to be those of Abbot Esteney as of Abbot Islip.

The difficulty about attributing the vaults of bays 5 and 6 to Esteney is that the bosses in them are quite different in character to those of the western bays, which are undoubtedly his work. If these two vaults are examined with a field-glass on a bright day, it will be found that for the most part they are no longer of the foliated character of those to the west. Several of them bear the same curly shield with a lance-rest high up on the left ("shield *à bouche*") which occurs sporadically from 1431 onwards,* but is most common in Tudor times. A

* Mr Mill Stephenson mentions early examples of the shield *à bouche* in 1431, 1422-39, 1449-50, 1450, 1423-55, 1432-61, 1447, 1462, 1479. *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, 1899, page 54.

large shield of this type occurs on the east end of the tomb of Henry VII. Again, in the 5th bay there is a curious boss consisting of a fetterlock (Yorkist emblem) enclosing a rose (Lancastrian emblem if painted red); this would denote the union of the two houses in the Tudor line. In the 6th bay one boss is a Catherine wheel and sword; probably a reference to Catherine of France, whom Henry VII. was proud to acknowledge as granddame (page 130). The design is entirely different from that of Esteney's bosses in the western bays. Now Esteney had been a great friend of Abbot Millyng, who had sheltered in the abbey the Yorkist Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and had become godfather to Edward V. Esteney may well then have been a suspected Yorkist, and in his work of 1494-1497 have been anxious to make a conspicuous display of his loyalty to Henry VII. by studding the vaults of these two bays with Tudor emblems. It is noteworthy that Henry, though a devout Churchman, did nothing whatever for the abbey in Esteney's time; apparently the abbot was in disgrace; when Islip became abbot, Henry almost immediately commenced to rebuild the Lady Chapel.

The above does not include all Esteney's work. In 1490-91 battlements were built of Caen stone; and in 1490-1494 nearly the whole of the aisles was vaulted.* He also finished the great west window. In 1491 carpenters and plumbers were working on "les syde flat roofes." The aisles are recorded to have been roofed in 1413 and 1418. These roofs of 1491 may have been those of the westernmost bays of the aisles, adjoining the towers, which may have been left unfinished because they contained masons' sheds, which we know to have long remained inside the church.

George Fascet was abbot only for two years (1498-1500). Nevertheless he did his part. For he paid out of his own pocket a deficit left by Esteney on the building fund of some £6,000.

John Islip succeeded him, and with him we reach the sixth and final stage of the *Novum Opus*. At the beginning of his term of office he did a considerable amount of vaulting (1501-1505). The tower bay was vaulted either by him or by Esteney. The vaults of the westernmost bays of each aisle may also be his work; the northern one contains a Tudor rose, the southern one the Abbey arms with a Mitre dexter; we have suggested that these bays were not roofed till 1491. The vault of the

* Thus the order of Esteney's vaulting is (1) bays 11, 10, 9, 8, 7 of the high vault; 1482-1490; (2) aisle vaults, 1490-1494; (3) bays 6, 5 of the high vault; 1494-1497.

South-West tower has a boss with IHU, *i.e.*, Jesu; that of the North-West tower has one with the Abbey's arms with a Mitre dexter. He is also recorded to have carried up the towers; *i.e.*, up to the point where the Renaissance stages commence; and to have finished the roof between the towers in 1501-2. In 1507 he glazes fourteen clerestory windows; *i.e.*, those of the nave and the towers; the great west window is glazed in 1509. The nave is paved in 1510-1517. In 1525-1526 he is at work at his chantry chapel, the Jesus chapel (61); in 1524-1528, he puts up the side screens, now gone, of the western towers.

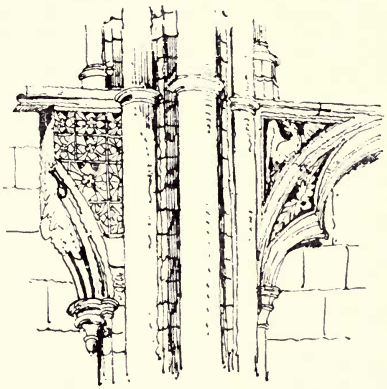
The gable between the towers, however, was not completed; for Sir Christopher Wren mentions that in his time, late in the seventeenth century, it was still weather-boarded. Finally, the upper parts of the two western towers were put up, either by John James, surveyor to the Abbey from 1725 to 1745, who was the architect of St George's, Hanover Square, and probably of St Alphege, Greenwich; or by Nicholas Hawksmoor, from whom there is a report on the Abbey in his own handwriting (29).

Such is the strange history, so far as it can be made out from architectural evidence and from that of the Fabric Rolls, of the Westminster nave. Henry III. had commenced it at or near the crossing in 1260, and in 1272 he had built the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th bays of the ground story and triforium; and the clerestory, vault, and roof of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th bays. The works are then suspended till *c.* 1365, a whole century; the nave is not finished till *c.* 1517; the towers are not finished till *c.* 1735.

The special interest of these western bays of the nave lies in the great care with which every one, from the first of its architects, Henry Yevele, onwards, adhered in all its main lines to the beautiful French design carried out by Henry of Westminster and John of Gloucester. Usually a Gothic architect was too conceited to appreciate or respect the work of his predecessors; it is rare to find, as here and in the nave of Beverley Minster, a new design assimilated to an old one. It is largely because of the homogeneity of their design that Westminster, Beverley, and Exeter *

* It would seem that there was less iconoclasm in architectural design in the fourteenth century than at any other period. At St Alban's the southern clerestory windows of the eastern bays of the nave are untraceried lancets, to match the thirteenth-century windows to the west of them. The quire of Ely is assimilated to the thirteenth-century presbytery east of it, just as that presbytery had been assimilated to a Norman quire west of it. So also at Worcester, the nave is assimilated to the thirteenth-century quire, just as that quire probably had been assimilated to a Norman nave. In York Minster the quire and presbytery are but a rectilinear version of the

take their places as the finest Gothic interiors in this country. The illustrations on pages 120 and 128 shew some of the minor differences between the early and the later design. Externally, the clerestory and aisle windows are lower, and their centrepiece consists of a quatrefoil instead of a cusped circle; the composition of the buttresses also is different. Internally, the use of detached marble shafts is abandoned; all the shafts of the pillars are engaged. The number of detached marble shafts in each bay of the triforium is reduced to four. The plinths of the pillars are molded as well as the bases, and are much loftier; a great improvement (310). The molded caps, bases, &c., have the sections characteristic of their period; and the spandrils of the



South Aisle of Nave

ground story are left plain, it may be to save expense, or perhaps it was desired not to give so much ornament to the more or less public bays as to the purely monastic part of the church (120). The spandrils also of the aisle arcading differ markedly (127); and the wall passage at the level of the sills of the lower windows which ran round all the chapels, aisles, and transepts in the thirteenth-century work, now disappears.

thirteenth-century nave. Even in Norman days there were those who declined to break away from an earlier design; at Peterborough there is no marked difference between the design of the presbytery, commenced in 1117 or 1118, and that of the western bays of the nave, which were not finished till *c.* 1195.

One Bay of the Quire and two Bays of the North Nave

PART V

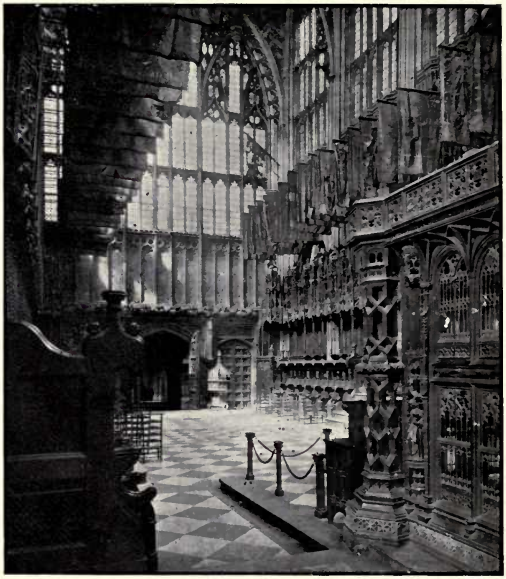
CHAPTER XV

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S LADY CHAPEL

In 1502 the last of the great works, the rebuilding of the Lady Chapel, was commenced; and in 1509 the pious and generous donor died. His will breathes the sweet piety of the mediaeval Churchman; the following quotation from its preamble explains clearly and simply the purport of the work.

"In the name of the merciful Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, We Henry &c. being entire of mind and whole of body—the laud and praise to our Lord God—make this our last will and testament in the manner and form hereafter ensuing." He then recommends his soul to the merciful hands of Him who redeemed and made it, and proceeds in these words: "And howbeit I am a sinful creature, in sin conceived and in sin have lived, knowing perfectly that of my merits I cannot attain to the life everlasting, but only by the merits of thy blessed Passion and of thy infinite mercy and grace, Nathless my most merciful Redeemer, Maker and Saviour, I trust that by the special grace and mercy of thy most Blessed Mother Ever Virgin, Our Lady Saint Mary, to whom, after thee, in this mortal life hath ever been my most singular trust and confidence, to whom in all my necessities I have made my continual refuge, and by whom I have hitherto in all mine adversities ever had my special comfort and relief, will now in my most extreme need, of her infinite pity take my soul into her hands, and it present unto her most Dear Son: Wherefore, Sweetest Lady of Mercy, Very Mother and Virgin, Well of Pity, and Surest Refuge of all needful, most humbly, most entirely and most heartily I beseech thee; and for my comfort in this behalf I trust also to the singular mediations and prayers of all the holy company of heaven; that is to say, Angels, Archangels, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors and Virgins, and specially to mine accustomed Avoures (Patrons and Advocates) I call and cry, Saint Michael, Saint John Baptist, Saint John Evangelist, Saint George, Saint Anthony, Saint Edward, Saint Vincent, Saint Anne, Saint Mary Magdalen and Saint Barbara; humbly beseeching you, not only at the hour of death so to aid, succour and defend me, that the ancient and ghostly enemy nor none other evil or damnable spirit have no power to invade me nor with his terribleness to annoy me,

but also with your holy prayers to be intercessors and mediators unto our Maker and Redeemer for the remission of my sins and salvation of my soul. And forasmuch as we have received our solemn coronation and holy inunction within our monastery of Westminster, and that within the same monastery is the common sepulchre of the kings of this realm ; and specially because that within the same, and among the same kings, resteth the holy body and relics of the glorious King and Confessor Saint Edward, and divers others of our noble progenitors and blood, and specially the body of our granddame of right noble memory Queen Katherine, wife to King Henry V., and daughter to King Charles of France ; and that we, by the



Henry the Seventh's Chapel from East

grace of God, propose right shortly to translate into the same the body and relics of our uncle of blessed memory, King Henry VI., for this and divers other causes and considerations us specially moving in that behalf, We will that whensoever it shall please our Saviour Jesus Christ to call us out of this transitory life, that our body be buried within the same monastery, that is to say in the Chapel where our said granddame lay buried, the which Chapel we have begun to build anew in the honour of our Blessed Lady. And We will that our tomb be in the midst of the same Chapel before the High Altar."

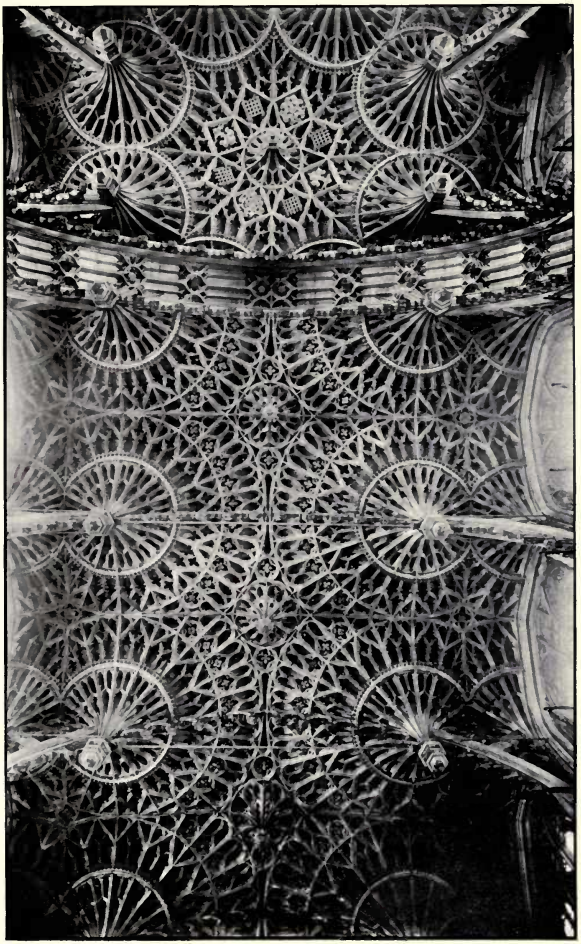
North-Western Stalls

In this Royal chapel is seen another great artistic achievement. High as is the place of the quire and nave of the Abbey in Anglo-French architecture, so high in our own art stands this triumph of Robert Vertue, architect.* It is far in advance of anything of contemporary date in England, or France, or Italy, or Spain. It shews us Gothic architecture not sinking into

Fan Vault of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel

senile decay, as some have idly taught, but bursting forth, Phœnix-like, into new life, instinct with the freshness, originality, and inventiveness of youth; searching out paths which none had adventured before, subjecting the ancient

* William Bolton, Prior of St Bartholomew, Smithfield, is designated in the King's will "Master of the Works"; but Vertue was the architect.



Fan Vault of Henry VII.'s Chapel

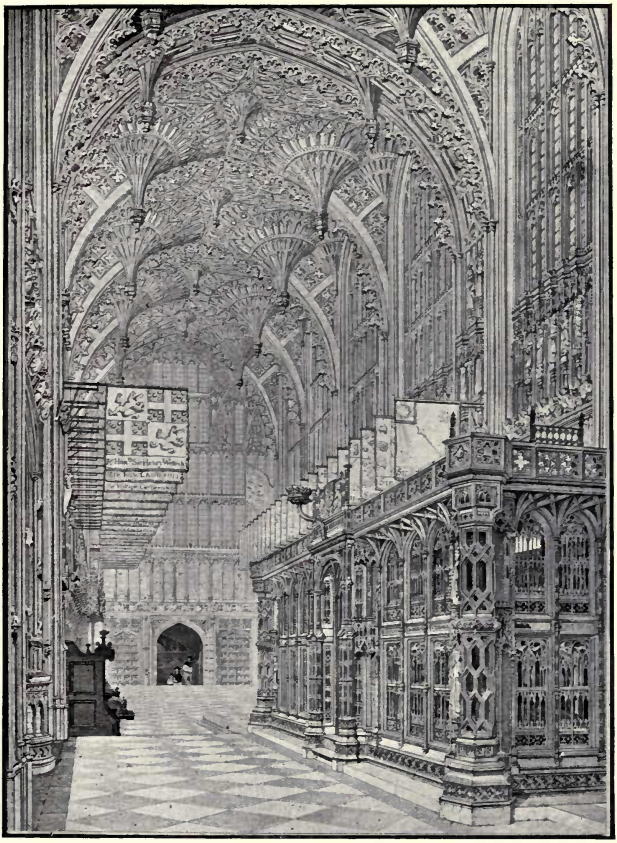
problems to a new analysis, and solving them in a fashion equally surprising and delightful. This Royal chapel in deed and truth is, as Leland well styled it, an "Orbis Miraculum."

The vault, to begin with, is the most wonderful work of masonry ever put together by the hand of man. For centuries builder after builder, to make vault-construction easier, had been compacting more and more ribs into the vaults, till the umbrella as it were had become nearly all rib. Then in a moment the whole method of vault-construction, which had been elaborated slowly, patiently, scientifically by generation after generation of ingenious craftsmen, is thrown over; and vaults are put up without any ribs at all. In this chapel the new system is adopted to its full and logical extent; and its unribbed vault is fitted together with as much certainty of precision and accuracy as the parts of an astronomical instrument.

Marvellous is the effect of the great pendants resting or seeming to rest on the unsubstantial air. Following the lines laid down in the quire of Norwich, the Lady chapel of Christchurch, Hampshire, the Divinity School, and the quire of the St Frideswide's, Oxford, the vault is planned as if for a nave separated from aisles by pillars. But no pillars are built to support it. Instead of these, in each of the great arches which cross the nave, and of which only the lower parts are visible, two of the voussoirs are vertical blocks some eight feet long with a knob at the end; and supported by this knob the circular courses of the pendants are built up, in the form of inverted concave cones. As for the small central pendants, and those in the aisles (132), each consists of a circular block dropped into a round hole left in the vault for the purpose intermediate between the fans; similar round holes are in the vault of the north-western tower for hoisting the bells up; but in the latter the hole is covered with a flat lid of wood, whereas these pendants are lids of stone, and each lid projects downward for several feet. In the nave the circular "lid" of the smaller pendants has a diameter of 2 feet 7 inches.

The construction of this vault is admirably described in Professor Willis' paper on Vaulting,* from which the following account is drawn. In mechanical construction it is an advance on all the other great fan vaults; for a great arch is thrown across between each severy or bay, and each principal fan springs from one of the voussoirs of this arch at a considerable distance from the wall. Thus each fan, instead of including, as usual, half the solid of revolution, contains the whole solid, at least at its lower part. There are, however, minor fans which do spring from the wall in the usual fashion, and which meet the complete central fans.

* *Journal of R.I.B.A.*, 1842, 53.



Henry the Seventh's Chapel from South-East

In Plate 27, A B C D is a plan of half a severy (or bay) of the vault; the upper half of the plan shews its *lower surface* with the ribs and panels, and the lower half shews the *upper surface* of the vault and also the joints. Plate 28 is a *vertical section* through a line C D close to the face of the great arch.

The great arch F E G springs from the walls at F, the joints below F being horizontal in the usual manner, and the portion F *g* lies below the vault and is visible from beneath. A branch arch at H again connects it with the walls; and the space between the walls and these arches is filled up with tracery; which two expedients serve to stiffen the free portion of F E G, and prevent it from giving way by curving inwards between F and *g*. At *g* the arch F E G pierces the surface of the vault, and the upper portion of it, E G, lies above that surface (and therefore out of sight), its position being only marked on the lower surface by a continuation of the hanging cusps which decorate its lower portion, F *g*.

The voussoir E, of which the pendant K is the lower portion, is a very large and long stone; the form of the upper portion of it is marked by the joints, *e*, *f*, and *g*: *f e g* K is one solid block. At *m*, *n*, *p*, Plan 27, shews that there is also a conical surface or bed extending from *e* to *f*, from which the masonry of the principal fan or conoidal vault radiates upward and outwards in all directions until it meets the neighbouring fans along the lines D M, M N, and N P in Plan 27. A fan vault of the same section rises from a conical bed, *r s t*, in Plan 27, formed upon the surface of a stone, C, which projects from the wall (Plan 27). This vault meets the neighbouring ones along the lines P N and N R.

The method of filling in the cells—*i.e.*, the interspaces of the ribs—with flat slabs or panels is altogether abandoned in this vault, which is wholly constructed of jointed masonry (139). This is disposed in concentric rings round the centre of each fan, and the radiating joints are disposed so as to break joint; *i.e.*, so that the joints of one course are opposite to the solids of the next course.

When building, the vault was constructed with the upper surfaces of the blocks perpendicular to the general surface of the vault. When finished, to lighten it, the surfaces of operation were chipped away, and the upper surface reduced, as shewn in Plate 28, to parallelism with the lower; but in one or two places the original surfaces remain, apparently forgotten, and traces may be seen of several others, so that they certainly were employed Owing to this chipping away of the surfaces of operation the vault is very thin; the panels being but three to four inches thick, and the principal ribs projecting eight inches from the panels.

Novel as is the vault, the system of abutment is still more original. The central principle of Gothic architecture is that its churches are ceiled with vaults of such a character that the walls have to be strengthened with buttresses: so much so that Gothic Architecture has been defined as "the art of erecting *buttressed* buildings." But if the plan on page 140 be consulted, or the view of the exterior on page 141, it will be seen that though the chapels have buttresses, yet there is not a single buttress to either aisle. Here indeed is an innovation. How then is a stable footing got for the immense flying buttresses above? It is got by discarding the principle of adding lateral resistance, and substituting vertical weighting in the form of huge octagonal

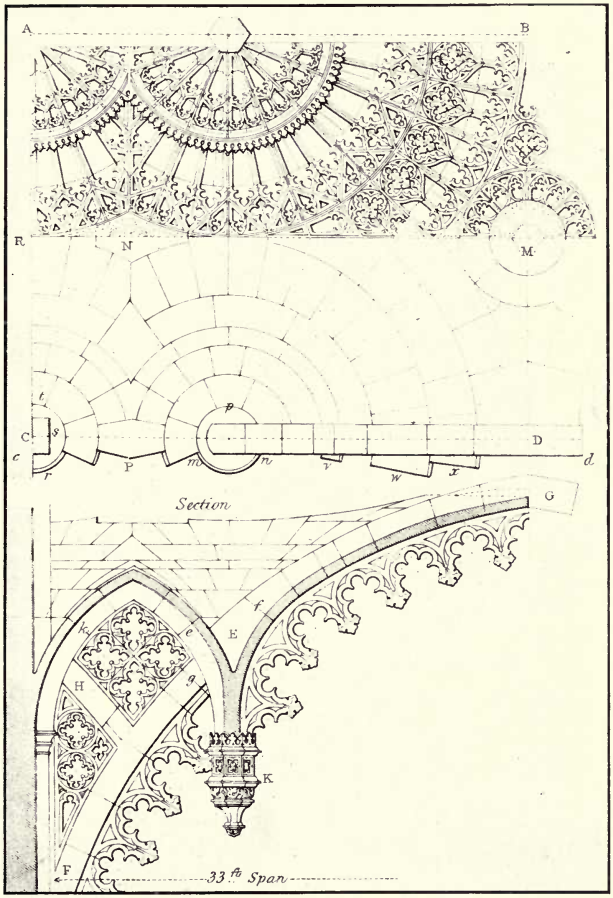
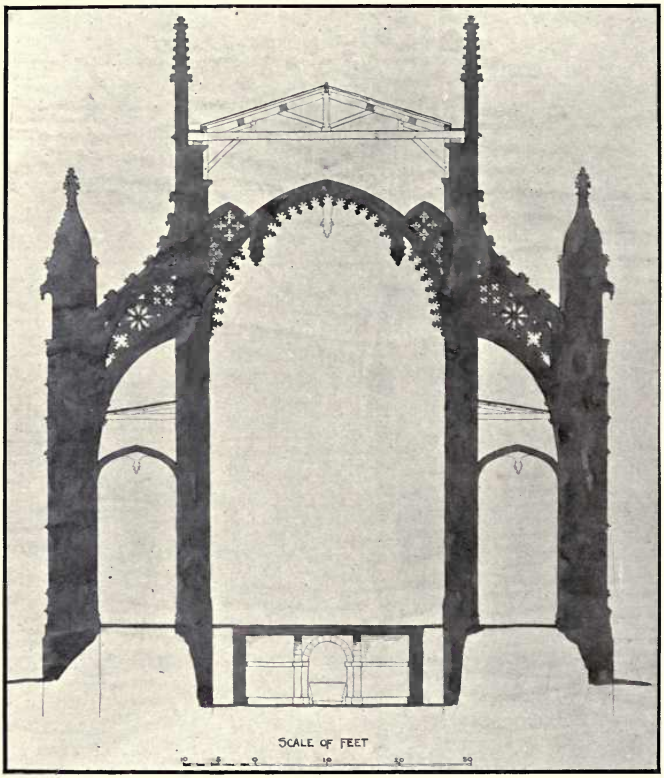


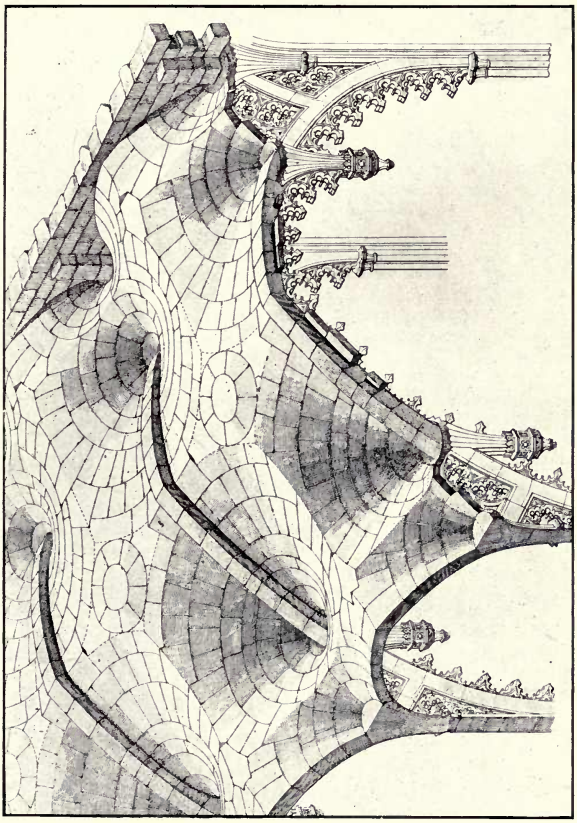
Plate 27.

Plate 28.

Fan Vault of Henry VII.'s Chapel

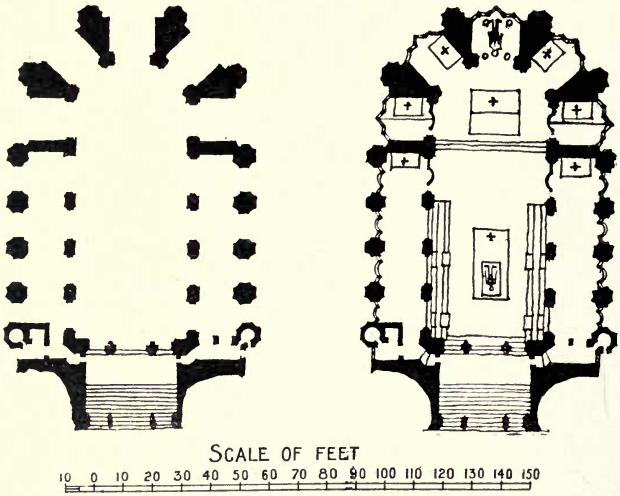


Transverse Section of Henry VII.'s Chapel



Fan Vault of Henry VII.'s Chapel

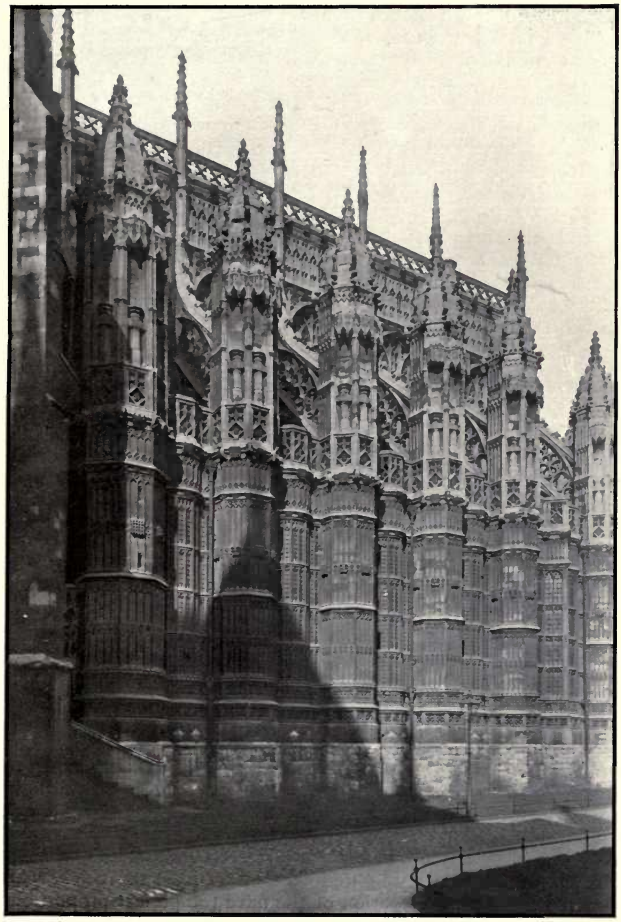
turrets. Nor is this all. It has been said elsewhere that a Gothic church could be built without any walls; the vaults of its nave and aisles resting on two rows of pillars on either side; and that if the outer row of pillars were properly abutted, the church would stand safe with all the winds of heaven blowing through the skeleton. This is no paradox. It is precisely the way in which the nave and aisles of this chapel are constructed. To give an object lesson as it were in the principles of Gothic architecture, Robert Vertue has actually built the aisles without walls; instead of aisle walls there is nothing but rows of pillars—



Windows omitted

The original plan

octagonal pillars (141). And there being no walls anywhere in the aisles, he amuses himself by playing with the voids left between his solids, the stone posts. Hitherto, and everywhere else, church windows were but insertions in walls; the wall conditioned the form of the window; the wall space was flat, therefore the window had to be flat. But here there are no walls; consequently there is no reason whatever why the windows should be flat. So Vertue can make his windows of any charming shape that occurs to him; and he does so, curving



Henry the Seventh's Chapel

them and pointing them in most delightful fashion (140, 143). Every one of these aisle and chapel windows is an outward and visible sign that the constructional scheme of the New Gothic is no longer vault and buttressed wall, but vault and weighted pillar. Nor is this all. Vertue has not hesitated to diminish the weight of his all-important pinnacles by hollowing out three niches for statues in the face of each. From this and from the whole constructional scheme it is plain that he recognised that vaults such as his needed not the powerful abutments of the Old Gothic; that the thrusts of a fan vault are almost negligible. A few years later, in 1528, a still bolder demonstration of this was given by the man who built a fan vault for John Greene over the outer south aisle of the parish church of Cullompton, with next to no abutment to the pillars by which alone the north side of the vault was supported. Thus, when the change of religion came, Gothic construction was on the verge of a totally new and startling development; retaining vaults, it was able to dispense with the machinery of buttress, flying buttress, and pinnacle. So far from "carrying within it the inherent elements of its own dissolution" Gothic architecture was on the point of running a new race even more marvellous than that of old. Vertue had taught how to build vaulted fanes on pillars; others, retaining walls, might have had façades as uniform and symmetrical as those of any palace of the Renaissance, unbroken by obstructive buttress or fretful pinnacle. Such was the golden prospect which opened forth to English Gothic in the first years of the sixteenth century, of which this Royal chapel was the harbinger.

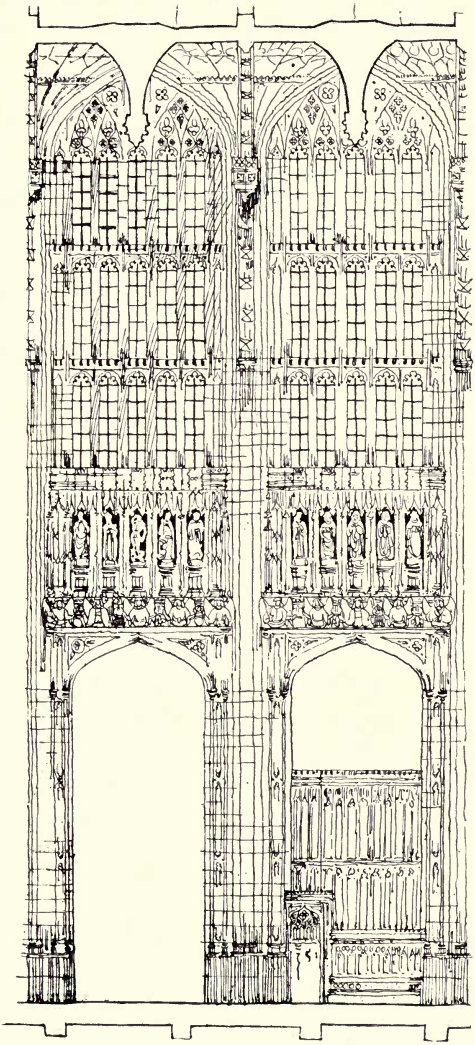
Equally independent is Vertue's treatment of the lighting of the nave from the aisles. At first sight of the section on page 145, he seems to have managed matters badly; for much of this source of light is cut off by the lowness of the arches of the ground story. But as a matter of fact he could in no case get but a modicum of light for his nave from aisle windows; for the three western arches on either side were blocked up by tabernacled stalls, and the next arch had a heavy stone screen extending for three-fourths of its height: it has been restored in the drawing on page 145. But he had no need of borrowed light from the aisles. For the chapel is only about 110 feet long; and there is a big window at the west, large clerestory windows on either side, and both upper and lower windows to the east: the chapel is admirably lighted without aid from the aisles.

In the internal elevation of the nave the perfect proportions of Henry of Westminster's design had to be abandoned. If the drawing on page 145 be turned upside down, it will be more like the thirteenth-century design than if in its right position.

Northern Chapel

The proportions of the three stories in Henry of Westminster's design are 3, 1, 2 (81); in Robert Vertue's they are more like 2, 1, 3. Why this inversion? The reason is connected with what has been said above; viz., that Vertue was not able to get indirect lighting from the aisles, and therefore had to increase proportionally the area of the clerestory windows of the nave.

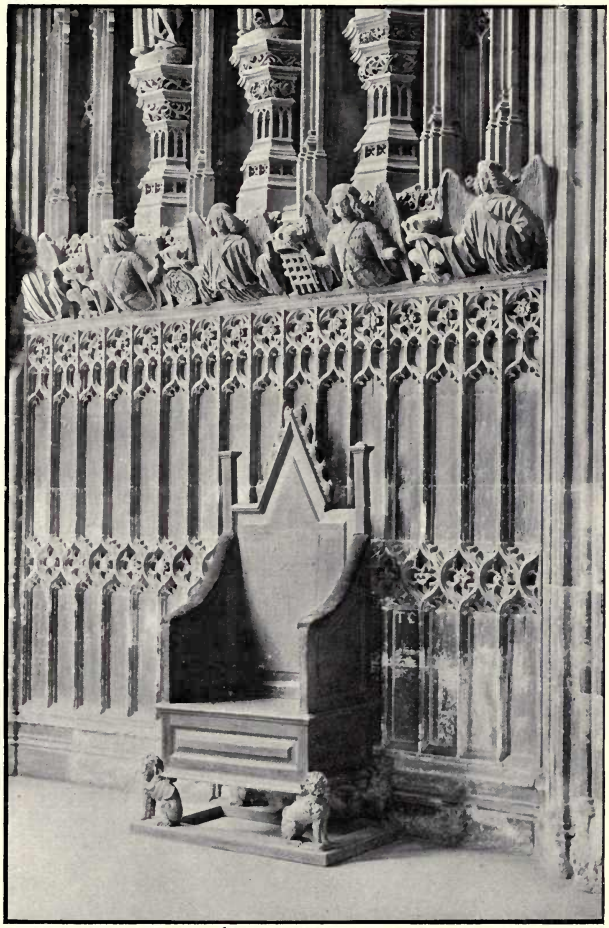
The one factor common to both designs is the importance given to the intermediate story, which in the chapel design is the more remarkable, because in the later English Gothic it had become the fashion to minimise this story as much as possible; so much so that sometimes, as in Bath abbey church, its existence is hardly observable. In both the Westminster designs the midzone is emphasised, but for totally different reasons. In the thirteenth-century design it seems due to the wish to arrange for the equipment in later days of an upper church on the top of the aisles and chapels. In the sixteenth-century design it is due to the fact that it was desired to provide an additional zone for sculpture. Henry the king wished to make his offering to Her in whose advocacy and protection he put his trust sumptuous and costly in the highest degree. So to all the other magnificence, to the fretted panels of the vault, to the interwoven traceries of the bronze portals, to the windows welling with the fires of the sunrise and the sunset, he added the yet more precious glory of sculptured imagery—statue after statue enshrined in the reredos of every chapel, and enshrined for the first time in the triforium story. Only once elsewhere, so far as we know, was our mediaeval architecture so largely conditioned by sculpture. That was in another chapel, Ely, dedicated, like this chapel, to Our Lady. And look at the sensibleness of the whole thing. An ancient Greek would have put such a sculpture-band outside, up in the air under the parapet. But Robert Vertue, recognising by a flash of genius that art can only give pleasure if it can be seen without pain, put his sculpture low down, either in the reredoses of his chapels or in the triforium zone. And now we see yet another reason why he kept his ground story so low: it was that the statued tier above it might be viewed without a crick of the neck. And here is another surprising thing about this design. Rich beyond compare as the chapel is in sculpture, it is not a sculpture gallery. The building itself is the offering of offerings, the sculpture but one of many accessories. Note how very small after all is the space actually occupied by the statues; note above all how the statues are boxed away in spacious niches and tabernacles; in fact note that the frame plays a more prominent part than the picture.



North Nave of Henry the Seventh's Chapel; third and fourth Bays from the West

Nowadays we frame pictures only; the old designers framed their statues as well. And of such imposing dimensions and of work so rich were their frames, that the eye dwelt longer on the frame than on the picture. Standing in Ely Lady chapel as once it was, one's eye would have rested everywhere on architecture; after-inspection only would reveal the presence of statuary. So it was too with the Westminster tombs. How much does one see of the effigy of Aymer de Valence or that of Henry III. or that of Eleanor from the ambulatory from which they were meant to be viewed? they even lie down so as not to distract attention; and what is seen was framed under tester or canopy. The mediaeval sculptor was under architectural control; he hid his light under a bushel; the modern sculptor does not.

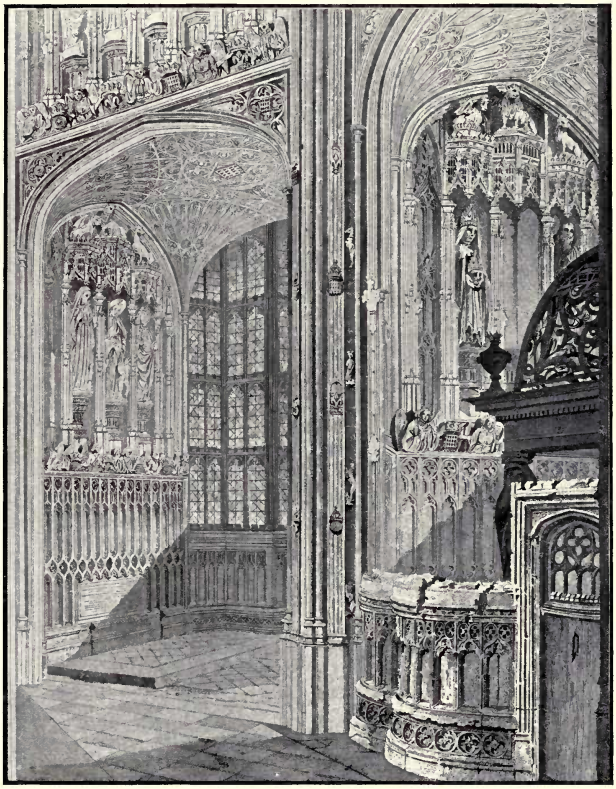
There is another side to the shield however; that is the planning. Extraordinarily bad is the arrangement of the chapel as we see it now, and as it has been for nearly 400 years. In front is an empty spacious nave, idly planned, for it was never meant to be used; and so broad as seriously to injure the proportions of the chapel (13). Yet though it is so broad, the stalls are jammed tight up to the arches so that they can only be reached by dangerously steep flights of steps (131). The altar is jammed right up to Henry VII.'s grille; and the grille is so huge that it blocks up almost all view of the eastern chapels. Can Henry VII. have planned so awkwardly as this? Remember that the foundation stone was laid seven years before his death, and that he must have had all the plans and drawings before him before 1502, and that he saw the whole fabric building, and lived long enough to see it finished up to the vault. Could he have meant to have it arranged as now we see it? The answer is to be found in his will. The original planning was entirely different, and in his will of 1509 it was expected that it would be adhered to. The chapel was to serve three purposes. It was to be first and foremost the chapel of Our Lady, in whom, next to his Redeemer, had ever been his most singular trust and confidence. "On the daye of his departynge," said Bishop Fisher in his funeral sermon, "he herde Masse of ye gloryous Virgyn, ye Moder of Cryste, to whome alwaye in his lyfe he had a synguler and specyall devocyon." Secondly, it was intended to contain the "bodie and reliques of our Vncle of blissed memorie King Henry the VIth.," whom he had hoped to get canonised. Though the canonisation was not effected, he says in his will that he still intended "*right shortely* to translate" his uncle's body from Windsor to his Lady chapel. Thirdly, it was to contain a chapel of Our Saviour, or as he calls



Eastern Chapel

it in an indenture with Abbot Islip, "a closure of metall in maner of a Chapell"; *i.e.*, a chantry chapel constructed of bronze, but designed with buttresses, window tracery, pinnacles &c., just as if it were of stone. At its east end was to be the altar of Our Saviour; its position may still be identified by the blank space where the running inscription inside the grille stops, and by the presence of a beam above to give support to a tester. Between the altar and the tomb room was left for the chantry priests to stand. The western part of the enclosure was to be occupied by the tomb below which Henry was to be buried, and to which the body of his Queen, Elizabeth of York, was to be transferred. This bronze chantry chapel, he says in his will, was to stand in the centre of the stalls (140). And it was because the bronze "closure" is so broad, that Vertue had to make his nave broad, and the stalls narrow. Moreover, the "closure" is very lofty, even now when it has lost much of its parapets and finials; so those in the stalls could not see over it. Therefore sufficient space had to be left between the stalls and the grille to allow those in the stalls an uninterrupted view on either side of the grille on to the altar of Our Lady. As for this altar, so that it might be well seen from the stalls, it was to be placed much further east than it is now. Finally, there was the site to be allotted to Henry VI. The precedent of St Edward's chapel was followed, where the shrine of the Confessor is placed at the back of the altar of St Peter, but at some distance from it. So here Henry VI.'s tomb was intended to be placed east of the altar of Our Lady, and quite clear of it. It must therefore have been intended to occupy the easternmost of the chapels. In its arrangement it was to follow the precedent set by Henry V. Below was to be a table tomb with the effigy; above, resting on columns, was to be a chapel, approached, of course, like Henry V.'s chantry chapel, by staircases. Now one sees how practical and how beautiful the original plan was. As one sat in the lofty stalls, one would have seen in front the magnificent bronze chapel of Our Saviour; which would have occupied so much of the nave that the latter would no longer have seemed unduly broad; then well to the east, the altar of Our Lady, with a reredos probably kept low; then, towering up and behind it, the lofty chantry chapel of Henry VI. with his tomb below.

Henry VII. dies, and Henry VIII. upsets the whole plan at once, and ruins the chapel for ever. Henry VI. he resolves to leave at Windsor; Henry VII. he causes to be buried and tomb and grille erected as we see now; and close up to the western end of the grille he puts up a great classical altar and baldachino by



South-Eastern and Southern Chapels

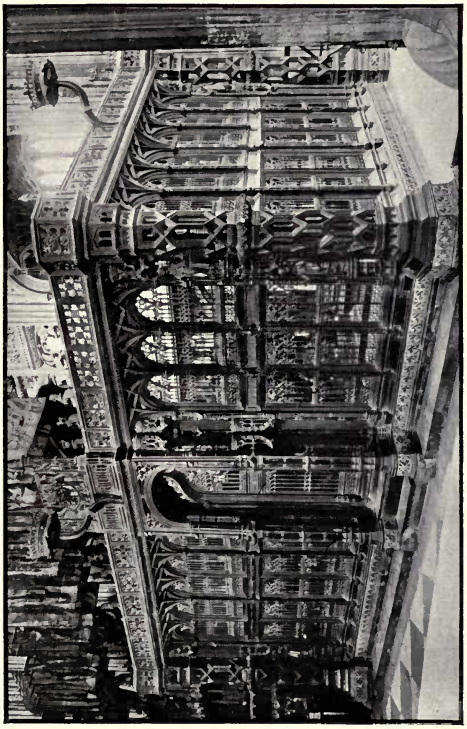
Torrigiano, fragments of which are built into the present altar.* Magnificent as the interior of this Lady chapel is, it falls far short of what it was meant to be by its munificent founder. Reinstate St Saviour's chapel, Our Lady's altar, Henry VI.'s tomb and chantry chapel, each in its proper position, put back the painted glass, once so glorious that it was stipulated that the windows at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, should be made in its likeness, restore the magnificent images, crucifixes, chalices, cruets, bells, corporacs, candlesticks, missals, vestments, altar cloths, bequeathed by Henry for the altars, and some idea may be formed of the splendour and magnificence intended by the pious and generous king.

Everywhere, within as without, with the sole exception of the external plinth, the chapel is crowded with ornament. The king would have it so. In his will Henry ordained that the chapel be "painted, garnished, and adorned in as goodly and rich manner as such a work requireth and as to a king's work appertaineth." And again: "As for the price and value of them" (the altar furniture) "our mind is that they be such as appertaineth to the gift of a Prince; and therefore we will that our executors have a special regard and consideration to the laud of God and the weal of our soul and our honour royal." To the king then is to be ascribed the astonishing exuberance of internal and external ornament.

The selection and the disposition of the ornament was the architect's function. Vertue's scheme is twofold. In the first place he selects two main architectural features—the window tracery and the niche—and reuses them as decorative motifs. With forms of window tracery he overlays the vaults, the great arch at the entrance to the apse, the internal walls of the aisles and chapels, the stone screens,† the bronze chantry chapel, the stalls, the great western gates, the vestibule, and nearly the whole of the exterior. All round the interior of the nave, north, south, east and west, and inside the chapels, are continuous ranges of tabernacle, niche, statue, pedestal, and frieze of demi-angels (147); outside also on still more grandiose scale the great turrets shoot up into domed niches, also once tenanted by

* A drawing of it will be found in Sandford's *Genealogical History*, where it is wrongly entitled the "Monument of Edward VI." As for the intended tomb and chantry chapel of Henry VI., we know exactly what it was like from a drawing at the British Museum in the Cottonian Collection, Aug. 2, Vol. i.

† The upper portions of the screens have gone; and the whole of the screens in two bays have been replaced by stalls. The original arrangement has been restored in the drawing on page 140.



Grate of Henry the Seventh's Chapel

Tomb of Henry VII. from the East

St Bartholomew

St John Evangelist

St George

Edward the Confessor

St James the Greater

A Monk

statues (141).* Exuberant therefore as the ornament is, its disposition is of the simplest. It is just this repetition of a limited number of motifs, and those architectural, that gives to the design what Tudor architects valued beyond everything, Harmony and Unity. There is no conflict between the decorative scheme and the constructional scheme; nor between the different parts of the decorative scheme itself; St George's, Windsor, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, each of them is a house at one with itself.

Built in this magnificent fashion, with no counting or stinting of expense, the cost of the chapel was very great; probably not less than £140,000. But that is only part of the expense; the endowment also had to be found; and this too was provided as "to the laud of God and the honour royal." The endowment probably amounted to over £100,000. For it was calculated to produce a yearly income of £6,800; of which the Abbey was to retain £880 per annum for the administration of the trust, while £5,800 was provided for a staff of three chantry priests, who were to be Batchelors of Divinity in the "vniuersite of Oxenford," and two 'fratres conversi" or lay-brethren, three scholars, thirteen almsmen, with three poor women to attend upon them, besides payments for the saying of many thousand obits, preaching of sermons, and monitions and commemorations of the king's anniversaries in twenty-one churches up and down England, and giving of alms, burning of torches and tapers, and ringing of bells. The cost of the chapel, including the endowment, cannot have been less than £250,000. The chapel is there still; but the endowment, together with all other chantry endowments, and the appointments of the chapel were confiscated by Henry VIII. and his successors.

The history of the chapel would be incomplete without mention of the east window of St Margaret's, Westminster, highly praised by Winston for the harmonious arrangement of its colouring. It is said to have been commissioned by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to be executed at Gouda in Holland as a wedding present on the approaching marriage of their daughter, Catherine of Arragon, with Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII.; with the intent that it should be placed in Henry's new Lady chapel. It represents the Crucifixion; at the foot of the cross on one side kneels Prince Arthur and his patron, St George, with the red and white rose of Henry VII. and his Queen above his head, and on the other side, Catherine of Arragon, with her patron, St Catherine of Alexandria, and the

* The upper battlement, that of the nave, is from a design of J. Wyatt in 1809, and is probably very little like the original.

St Matthew

St Martin

pomegranate of Granada. But Prince Arthur died in 1502, before the window was finished; and when it arrived Henry gave it to Waltham Abbey. At the Dissolution the last abbot of Waltham sent it for safety to his private chapel at New Hall. There it remained till New Hall became the property of General Monk, who buried it till the Restoration, when he replaced it in the chapel. After his death the chapel was pulled down, and the window was sold to Mr Conyers of Copt Hall, Essex. His son sold it in 1758 to the churchwardens of St Margaret, Westminster. Even then its troubles were not at an end; for the Dean and Chapter of Westminster sought to have it removed as "a superstitious image and picture"; but after a lawsuit which lasted seven years, the churchwardens won, and in memory of their victory presented the parish with the beautiful "Loving Cup of St Margaret."*

* Hare's *Walks in London*, ii. 281, and Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, 103, 136.

Henry VII. and his Queen

PART VI

CHAPTER XVI

POST-REFORMATION WESTMINSTER

In 1539 the convent was dissolved; and the treasures of the church were carried off by Henry VIII.; most of its vast estates also passed away; "they had been scattered not only over the whole of the present city of Westminster, from the Thames to Kensington, and from Vauxhall Bridge to Temple Bar, but through 97 towns and villages, 17 hamlets, and 216 manors;"* the income of the abbey at the Dissolution was £3,471 (=£35,000). Within the abbey itself the change was not perhaps so great as might appear. The common life proper to a monastic order had practically ceased long before. Most of the monks, instead of eating in a common refectory, sleeping in a common dormitory, studying in a common cloister, had come to have private houses of their own, and only led the coenobitic life in church. These separate houses took up much space, and must have greatly increased the expenses of the establishment; so it had been necessary to decrease the number of monks; at the Dissolution there were probably not more than thirty. In 1539, the abbot and monks were replaced by a dean and twelve prebendaries, each of whom was required to be present as before at the daily services in the quire. In 1540 the church became the seat of a bishop, and for 10 years, till the third year of Edward VI., was a cathedral. Then came Queen Mary; the old religion was restored; and in 1555 the abbey was reoccupied by an abbot and fifteen monks. Then followed Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558; and abbot and monks were superseded by dean and prebendaries once more.

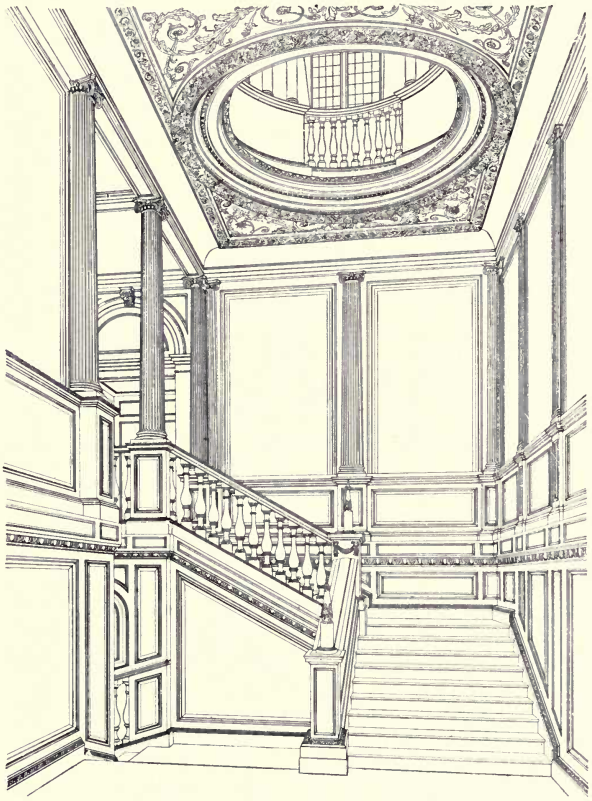
A more striking innovation was the founding of a great public school in the heart of the monastic buildings. In Pre-

* Stanley, 338.

Reformation days there had always been a school in the cloister; the minute regulations of which are carefully detailed in Abbot Ware's *Consuetudines*. To replace this, a new school was founded by Henry VIII., and was endowed with valuable scholarships to the Universities. By Elizabeth the school was still further fostered and was given Collegiate rank. For a long time the position at Westminster was largely what it is to this day at Christ Church, Oxford; where the Dean is at once Head of the College and of the Cathedral Chapter. For a long time the Dean and prebendaries of Westminster dined in the College hall (the hall built for himself by Abbot Litlyngton) with the masters and boys (301); in Elizabeth's time the Dean kept a boarding-house; and in the reign of James I. he took some part in the teaching. To this day the Dean and Chapter receive in the hall the old boys, who come to listen to the Epigrams and the Latin play; and the successful captor of the pancake on Shrove Tuesday applies to the Dean for his guinea prize. But gradually the two institutions have drifted apart; and to all intents and purposes the Headmaster of Westminster is now an independent potentate. But boys are conservatives; and they may still be seen treading the cloister's studious pale or the long-drawn recesses of the aisles; or shouting for all they are worth at a Coronation, as is their prerogative, on behalf of the people of England, their assent to the election of the sovereign.*

* For Westminster School, see Stanley, 41, 362, 395, 407, 409.

THE STAIRCASE : ASHBURNHAM HOUSE : WESTMINSTER :



FORMERLY THE RESIDENCE OF THE REV^D CANON LORD JOHN THYNNE

CHAPTER XVII

THE MAINSPRING OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

AND now our task is at an end. We have praised famous men and our fathers which begat us. We have recorded the piety and generosity of kings, the Confessor, Henry III., Henry V., Henry VII.; of Abbots, Humez, Berking, Ware, Langham, Litlyngton, Colchester, Islip; the genius of architects, Henry of Westminster, John of Gloucester, Robert of Beverley, Henry Yevele, Robert Vertue. They left a fair heritage in trust for those that were to come. For their sakes and for the sake of English folk the wide world over, who are heirs to its glories equally with ourselves, let us cease to regard and treat the Abbey as a Public Cemetery and Sculpture Gallery. It is a church—a great and glorious church—worthy of reverence and gratitude and care, not fit to be so misused. It was built by better builders than we. When its walls and pinnacles first rose to the blue skies, there were among English people, high and low, rich and poor, cravings for art and beauty, and especially for colour, which are unknown and inexplicable to us. In these days many have worshipped beneath the bare rafters of the whitewashed meeting-house and have found God. Not so in our ancient churches. Every church, in village or town—parish church, canons' church, monks' church—was a blaze of colour; painting and gilding took the value out of carving, and paled themselves before jewelled glass pulsing and throbbing with liquid fire. Our ancestors could not have worshipped in an ugly church; certainly they never did: they must have had a keenness of sensibility to art such as the Greeks once had; which we moderns have lost. To them "the beauty of holiness" was no catchword; in such a church as Westminster they were spiritualised and exalted by an atmosphere and environment of almost unearthly beauty. Their souls were quickened to spiritual emotion and ecstasy by one of the fairest visions that has ever met the eye of man, a church that was no unworthy copy and reflection of the City not built with hands; a church encompassed with treasures without price of wrought stone and oak

Interior from East

and marble, and silver and gold, and tapestry and glass. Art in quite a literal sense was then the handmaid of religion; the sublimity and rapture of worship were felt most where art found noblest expression.

But in churches such as this of Westminster, overhung by the fretted canopy of the branching vault, beset with statued niche and tabernacled stall, illumined by the welling fires of painted glass, art was more than an aid to devotion, an accessory to worship, a begetter and stimulant of spiritual emotion. Pillar and arch, window and wall and roof, were wrought so nobly, because the building of them compact was the abiding place of an indwelling God, whose mansion it was on earth, the pattern of the palace of the City of God immortal in the heavens. And this it was in a very special sense. For to those who built this church God was present therein in living, real, corporeal presence by ever-renewed daily miracle in the adorable sacrifice of the Mass. For Him who abode on the Altar they built this house, and as far as in them lay, gave it His especial attributes. Not built for mortal man, but for Him who is without beginning or end or length of days, they built it stable and monumental; "they laid their foundations like the ground which He hath made continually," and arched it over with ribbed stone that fire should not prevail against it. From east to west, from north to south, arch after arch receded into dim distances; while through arch after arch were glimpses of half-hidden recesses yet more remote; all was the reflex of the overawing mysteries and the infinity of the Godhead.

To Him it was at once a thankoffering and a sacrifice. It was an offering of hearts that could not too gratefully consecrate to Him who had given them the hand that wrought and the brain that planned, all that was fairest and noblest of their work. And so they gave of their substance and their labour, plentifully and without stint and not counting the cost, and were for ever giving, day by day, generation after generation, so that the church became a concrete embodiment, ever growing into yet greater richness and charm, of gratitude to God who is good and merciful, and as far as the East is from the West, so far hath He set our sins from us. Men gave liberally and gladly, beyond necessity and beyond their powers; they not only gave but made sacrifices to give; costliness was a condition of the acceptableness of sacrifice. And so in those days the churches of England were made all glorious within; but of them all nothing fairer ever rose beneath the firmament of heaven than this abbey church of Westminster. For it is a church unequalled in England, unsurpassed in France; in which are summed up the

faith and aspirations and sacrifices of many generations of men; vast in scale, of proportions harmonious, roofed sky-high with monumental vaults; infinite in distances and perspectives, with ever changing vistas into aisles and chapels half hidden, half revealed; where marble pillars branch overhead into sweeping arches, "where the light once struck down through storied windows painted with benignant faces of saints and angels; where was always the faint odour of old incense, the still atmosphere of adoration and of prayer." *

* *English Parish Churches*, by Mr Ralph Adams Cram, than whom no one has written on our churches, great and small, with deeper sympathy, insight, and eloquence.

Henry the Seventh

PART VII

CHAPTER XVIII

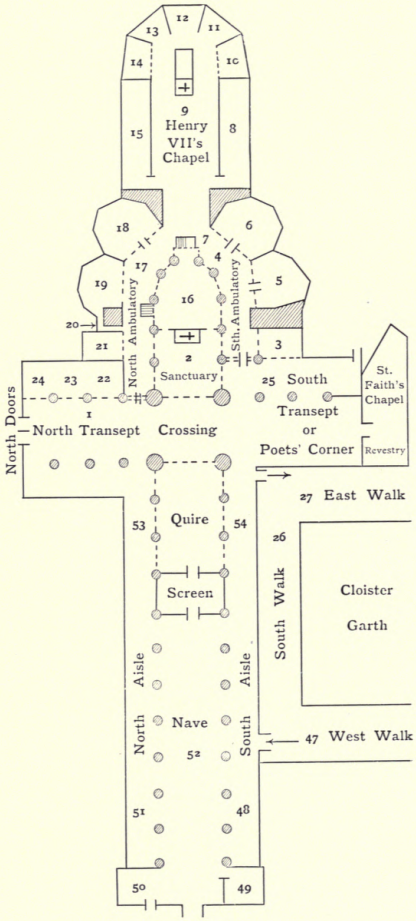
VISITORS' GUIDE TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY

FIRST SECTION

THE "Visitors' Guide" deals principally with the monuments and other objects of interest in the church and cloisters. Visitors with only a limited time at their disposal will do well to confine their attention to those described below. The most convenient route for seeing the church and the cloisters is that indicated by numbers in the Key plan on page 166. In addition, special plans are given in the text of each part of the church and cloisters. Portions of the text in a smaller type may be reserved to be read at home.

On Mondays and Tuesdays visitors are allowed to see the chapels unattended, and no charge is made. On Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday parties of visitors are shewn by the vergers round the ambulatory and its chapels, and a charge of 6d. is made. An extra charge is made to those who visit the wax effigies.

It is important to make sure at once of the cardinal points of the church; see the Key plan on page 166. Entering by the North door, one stands in the **North Transept**. Opposite is the **South Transept**, with a great rose window overhead. Between the two transepts is the **Crossing**. On the right, that is to the **West**, is the **Nave**; of which the eastern part, as far as the Screen, contains modern stalls occupied by the dean and canons and the singers: while the western part is used for the Sunday evening services. To the **East** is the railed **Sanctuary** with the High altar, and behind it is the **Chapel of Edward the Confessor**: all this eastern part of the church is encircled by an



1. North Transept.
2. Sanctuary.
3. St Benedict's c.
4. South Ambulatory.
5. St Edmund's c.
6. St Nicholas' c.
7. South Ambulatory.
8. Lady Margaret's c.
9. Henry VII.'s c.
10. Southern c.
11. South-Eastern c.
12. Eastern c.
13. North-Eastern.
14. Northern c.
15. Queen Elizabeth's c.
16. St Edward's c.
17. North Ambulatory.
18. St Paul's c.
19. St John Baptist's c.
20. St Erasmus' c.
21. Islip chapel.
17. North Ambulatory.
22. St John Evangelist's c.
23. St Michael's c.
24. St Andrew's c.
25. South Transept.
26. North Cloister.
27. East Cloister.
47. West Cloister.
48. South Aisle of Nave.
49. S.W. Tower.
50. N.W. Tower.
51. North Aisle of Nave.
52. Nave.
53. North Aisle of Quire.
54. South Aisle of Quire.

KEY PLAN.

The numbers indicate the order in which the various parts of the church are described.

aisle, called the **Ambulatory**; and round the Ambulatory are various **Chapels**.

1. North Transept

The figures attached to the headings refer to the Key Plan on page 166.

On the right, next to the door, is a big, pretentious monument to the elder Pitt, **Lord Chatham**, d. 1778. Near it is the statue of **Viscount Palmerston**, d. 1865. On the opposite side of the transept are seven statues. The first, by Chantrey, nearest to the door, is that of **George Canning**, d. 1827. The second, by Foley, is that of **Earl Canning**, d. 1862, who governed India during the perilous times of the Mutiny; he was the last of the Governor-Generals of India and the first Viceroy. The third, by Boehm, is that of **Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe**, d. 1880, Ambassador at Constantinople in the Crimean War times:

> "Here silent in our Minster of the West
> Who wert the voice of England in the East."

Between the statues of the Cannings and Sir John Malcolm is a monument of two interesting people; William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, d. 1676; and his second wife, d. 1673. The Duke and Duchess sleep quietly like mediaeval effigies, and do not kneel or loll about on one elbow, like Thomas Thynn (312), Sir Cloudesley Shovel (315), and many others. Clarendon says of the Duke, that "he loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both." As for the Duchess, the epitaph tells us that "Her name was Margaret Lucas, youngest sister of Lord Lucas of Colchester—a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous"; and that "she was a very wise, witty and learned lady, as her many books do testify." She left behind no less than thirteen folios of her writings. Round her at night she used to keep a band of lady secretaries, ready to wake up and take down at a moment's notice any happy thought that occurred to her. Even on the tomb book and inkstand are by her ready for use. She was one of the last to carry on the noble tradition of Margaret Beaufort, Lady Burleigh, Lady Jane Grey, Queen Elizabeth.

The fourth statue, by Chantrey, is that of an Indian general **Sir John Malcolm**, d. 1833. The fifth, by Boehm, is that of **Lord Beaconsfield**, d. 1881. The sixth, by Brock, is that of **Mr Gladstone**, d. 1898. The seventh, by Gibson, is that of **Sir Robert Peel**, d. 1850, dressed as a Roman.

On the West side of the transept, in the last bay, is the seated statue by Flaxman of a great lawyer, **Lord Mansfield**, d. 1793. Near it is the statue of **Viscount Castlereagh**, d. 1822.

Lord Chatham

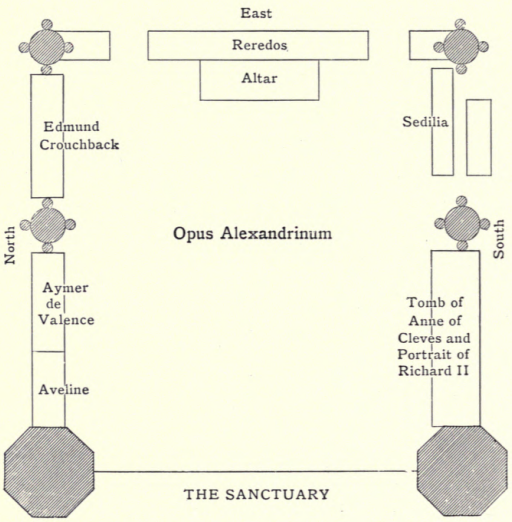
Lord Mansfield and Viscount Castlereagh

The Cannings

Lord Beaconsfield

Gladstone and Peel

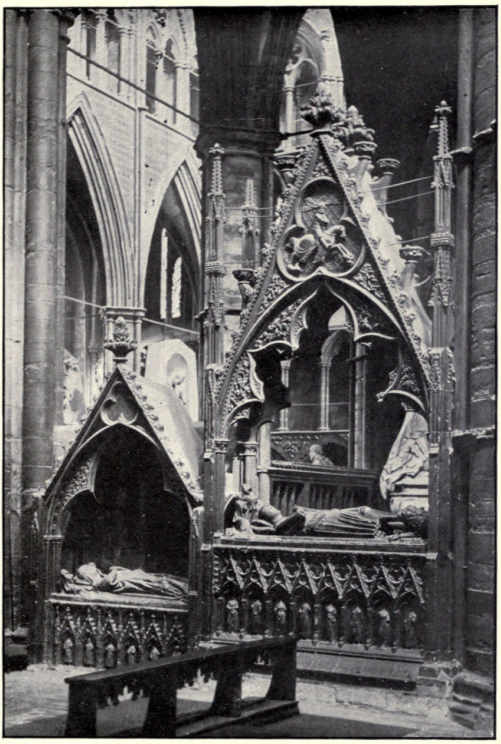
2. The Sanctuary



Standing beneath the central tower or lantern, to the left is the railed sanctuary, raised on steps (page 166). The altar and rich Reredos are modern. The mosaic pavement is of the variety called **Opus Alexandrinum**, such as may be seen at St Mark's, Venice, Murano, and Torcello (175).

The materials of the pavement are mainly porphyry (red), serpentine (green), and palombino (white), which in Italy are arranged in a background of white marble, but here Purbeck marble was used and is now greatly worn and decayed. Long inscriptions in brass letters, now nearly all gone, record that the materials were brought from Rome in 1268 by Abbot Ware, and put together by Odericus of Rome. Flete (*History*, 113) says that "Ricardus de Ware repatriando (from Rome in 1259) adduxit mercatores et operarios, ducentes secum lapides illos porphyriticos, jaspides, et marmora de Thaso, quos sumptibus suis propriis emerat ibidem. Ex quibus ipsi operarii coram magno altari Westmonasterii mirandi operis fecerunt pavimentum." He gives the long inscription on it, which was a symbolical chronology, and ended with the couplet,

> "Tertius Henricus rex, urbs, Odoricus, et abbas
> Hos compegere porphyreos lapides."



Aveline of Lancaster and Aymer de Valence

On the right, backed by tapestry, is a portrait of **King Richard II.**, painted for him in 1394, much "restored" by Mr George Richmond. It is the oldest contemporary portrait of any English sovereign, and is probably a good likeness (page 73).

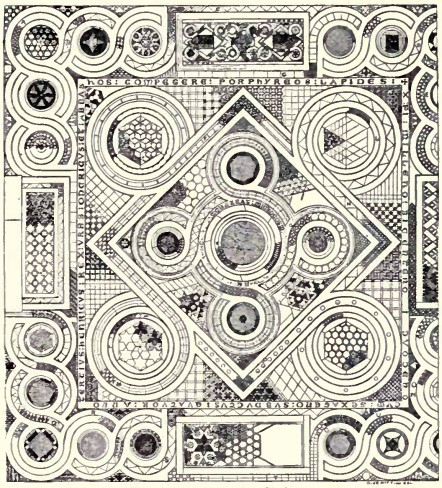
"It represents," says Dart, "that unhappy beautiful prince sitting in a chair of gold, dressed in a vest of green flowered with flowers of gold and the initial letters of his name; having on shoes of gold powdered with pearls; the whole robed in crimson lined with ermine, and the shoulders spread with the same, fastened under a collar of gold; the panel plastered and gilt with several crosses and flowers of gold embossed."

Beneath the portrait of Richard II. is the tomb of **Anne of Cleves**, fourth wife of Henry VIII. Where this tomb stands the sovereign used to sit, when attending service in the Abbey. To the East are four wooden seats or **Sedilia** for the celebrant and his assistants during certain parts of High Mass; they were erected in 1308. The sedilia rest on the tomb of Sebert, the reputed founder of the Abbey.

On the left of the Sanctuary are the three finest monuments in the Abbey:* the farthest is that of **Edmund Crouchback**, d. 1296; the nearest and smallest of the three is that of **Aveline, Countess of Lancaster**, the richest heiress in the kingdom. On her death her property passed to her husband, and ultimately to his descendant, Blanche of Lancaster, and by the marriage of the latter with John of Gaunt or Ghent, to King Henry IV., the first sovereign of the House of Lancaster. The central monument is that of **Aymer de Valence** (d. 1324), cousin of Edward I., and of Edmund and Aveline. In the centre of the pediments of the canopies of Aymer and Edmund the deceased is represented riding on his war-horse. Instead of the flat wooden canopies or "testers" which are seen over the tombs of the earlier kings, these are surmounted with canopies of stone; those of the monuments of Aymer and Edmund have little projecting brackets, each of which supported an angel holding a candlestick. These are shewn in the drawing from the Islip Roll on page 263. Originally all three monuments were gorgeously painted and gilt.

All three are similar in design, and fit so neatly in their places, that they may well have been designed at the same time. Edmund Crouchback died in 1296, and the fact that he left instructions that he was not to be buried till his debts were paid renders it probable that his monument was not erected till after that date. The details of the tomb of his wife Aveline are later than those in use at the time of her death, *c.* 1273, and the decorations of the two tombs are in some cases identical. Crouchback was the second son of Henry III., and after his return from the Crusade with his elder brother,

* For a drawing of these in their unrestored condition, see Neale, ii., Plate XLIII.

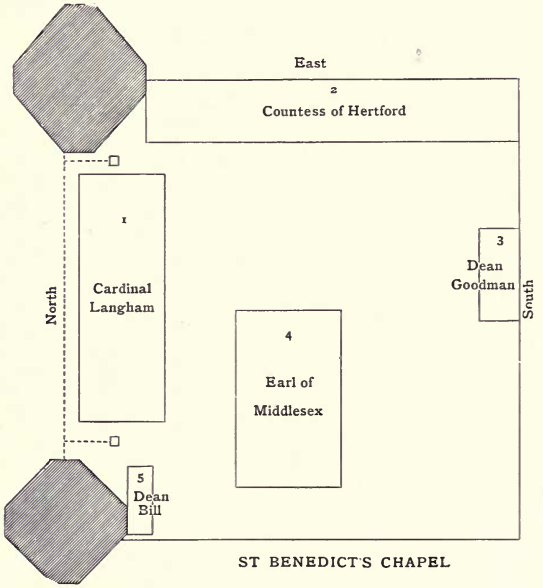


Mosaic Pavement on the Altar Platform.

Patterns of the Mosaic Pavement.

Edward I., he resided long at *Provins*, east of Paris ; there he planted the famous red rose, wrongly called the "rose of *Provence*," brought from Palestine, which is to be seen carved on his tomb, and which afterwards became the badge of the Lancastrian dynasty.

3. St Benedict's Chapel



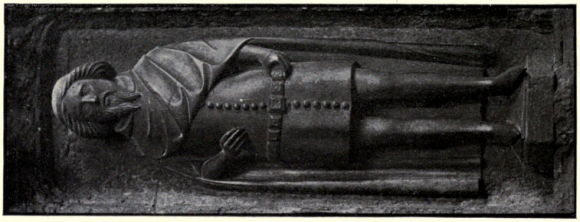
Turning to the left, we pass through an iron gate into the South Ambulatory. On the right is the chapel of St Benedict, which still retains the platform of its altar. (1) On the North side of this chapel is the monument and alabaster effigy of the greatest and most generous of all the Abbots of Westminster, **Simon Langham**, d. 1376, who bequeathed his immense fortune to the completion of the nave; the tomb is fenced off from the ambulatory by the original ironwork. Langham rose to the rank of Bishop, Archbishop, and Cardinal, and died at Avignon on the eve of the festival of St Mary Magdalen. At his feet was formerly a statue of St Mary

Magdalen, and the tomb was surmounted, like that of Edward III., by a canopy of wood. (2) On the East wall is the Elizabethan monument of **Frances, Countess of Hertford**, d. 1598. (3) In the South wall of the chapel is what seems to be a double piscina, and a large recess which may have been an aumbry or a sedile. In front of the piscina is the kneeling figure of **Dean Goodman**, d. 1601, in the robes of a Doctor of Theology. (4) In the centre of the chapel is the Jacobean table tomb of the **Earl of Middlesex**, d. 1645, and his Countess, d. 1647. (5) Here also is a small brass to **Dr Bill**, d. 1561, the first Dean of Westminster on Queen Elizabeth's foundation.

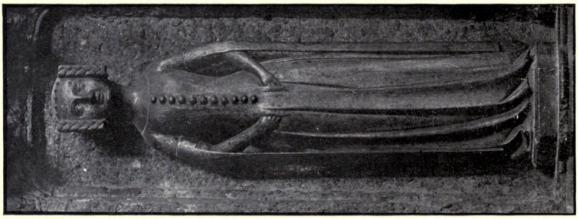
Dean Goodman

4. South Ambulatory

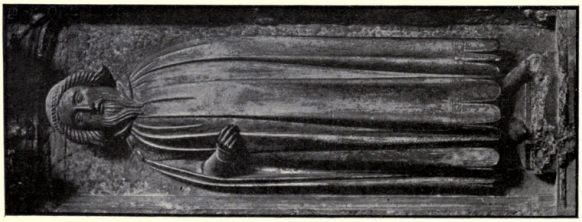
We now proceed up the Ambulatory, which is the aisle running all round the Eastern part of the church, having on its inner side the Sanctuary and the chapel of St Edward the Confessor, and on its outer side the chapels of St Benedict, St Edmund, St Nicholas, Henry VII.'s Lady chapel, the chapels of St Paul and St John Baptist, the Islip chapel, and the chapel of St John Evangelist (see plan, page 166). On our left is a low recess, constructed in 1308 to contain the coffin of **King Sebert**, who is said to have founded both St Paul's Cathedral, or East Minster, and St Peter's Church, or West Minster, in the seventh century. The carving at the back contains the badge of the Yorkist dynasty, a *rose en soleil, i.e.*, a rose from which issue sunbeams, and must therefore have been executed later (page 3). A few steps farther, on the right, is a tomb recessed in the wall,



Lionel, Duke of Clarence



Joan of the Tower



The Black Prince

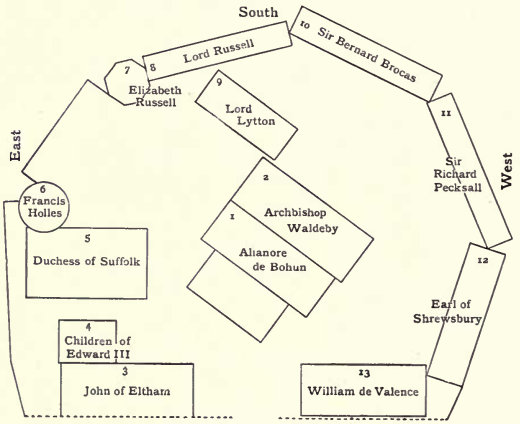
Edmund of Langley

Mary, Duchess of Brittany

William of Hatfield

in which lie buried four little children of Henry III., and four of Edward I. Among them is the **Princess Katherine**, daughter of Henry III., who died at the age of five in 1257; a brass effigy was set upon her tomb; above it a silver statuette of St Katherine probably hung from the hook high up on the wall; both have gone. Across the aisle is the back of the tomb of **Richard II.**, and, a little farther, that of **Edward III.**; some of the "weepers," beautiful little statues in bronze, remain on the latter; counting from the left they are the Black Prince; Joan de la Tour; Lionel, Duke of Clarence; Edmund, Duke of York; Mary, Duchess of Brittany; and William of Hatfield. In front, looking eastward, is the most beautiful vista in the Abbey; high up is seen the sculptured chantry chapel of **Henry V.**; while, farther away, through the open doors, are glimpses of the Lady chapel of **Henry VII.** (page 47).

5. Chapel of St Edmund

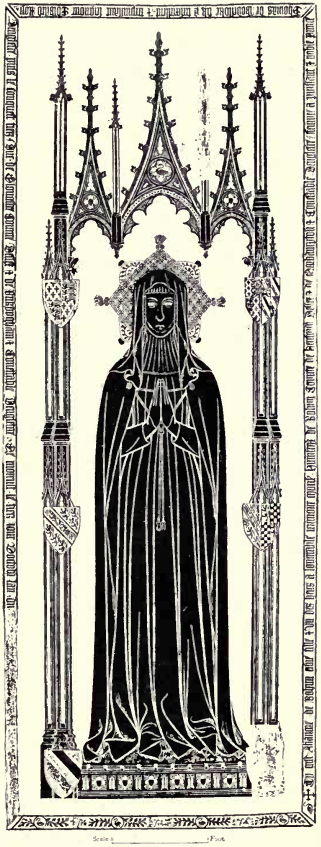


ST EDMUND'S CHAPEL

Opposite the tomb of Edward III. is the chapel of St Edmund, in the middle of which are three tombs:—

1. On the central is the largest and finest brass in the Abbey. It is that of **Alianore de Bohun** (d. 1399), whose husband, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III.,

Archbishop Waldeby



Alianore de Bohun

was murdered at the instigation of his nephew, Richard II.; whereon she entered a nunnery at Barking.

"Desolate, desolate will I hence and die";

she says to John of Gaunt in the first act of *Richard II.* She is represented in her widow's dress, with veil, wimple, and plaited barbe covering the whole of the head and neck. In the central canopy above her head is a swan, the badge of the Bohuns, which became a favourite badge of King Henry V.

"Weepers" on John of Eltham's Tomb

2. Next to her tomb is another brass, which represents **Robert Waldeby**, Archbishop of York (d. 1397), the companion of the Black Prince and tutor to Richard II.; his right hand is aised in the act of benediction.

He wears the full eucharistic vestments, which in this early brass are rendered quite simply. The inner garment shewn is the sleeved *alb*, which covers the whole body, but is only seen just above the feet ; in the centre of it, in front, is a square piece of embroidery, or *apparel*. In front of the alb hang down the fringed ends of a long narrow band or *stole*, which passed round the neck. Above the fringes of the stole are seen the plain lower edges of the linen *tunicle*, the vestment of a subdeacon. Above that is seen part of the lower portion of the fringed *dalmatic*, the vestment of a deacon. On the top of all is the *chasuble*, pointed oval in shape, and here plain. Round the neck is an embroidered turn-down collar, the *amice*. From his left arm hangs an embroidered napkin, the *maniple*. On his head

Duchess of Suffolk

is a tall episcopal mitre, studded with gems, the *mitra pretiosa*. Over the embroidered *gloves* is usually the episcopal *ring*, the stone of which was always plain. The *sandals* were often richly adorned and jewelled, and their open work showed scarlet stockings. Being an archbishop, he holds in his hand a *cross*, instead of a pastoral crook or crozier ; and round his neck and in front of the chasuble hangs the *pallium* of white lamb's wool made by the nuns of St Agnes, Rome, and sent by the Pope to archbishops as the investiture of their office ; it is embroidered with crosses. The complexity of the vestments is due to the fact that the archbishop did not lose his right to the vestments worn in the various orders through which he had passed as bishop,

priest, deacon, and subdeacon. Thus as *subdeacon* he wears the tunicle, as *deacon* the dalmatic, as *priest* and celebrant at the Mass he wears the chasuble ; as *bishop* he has mitre, gloves, ring, sandals, and scarlet stockings ; as *archbishop* he has cross and pallium.

The following are the chief monuments in order from the doorway, proceeding from left to right :

3. The beautiful monument of **John of Eltham**, Earl of Cornwall, second son of Edward II., is of alabaster ; d. 1337.

Notice the "weepers" on its West end. It is possible that the king and queen illustrated (182) may represent Edward II. and his Queen, Isabella. On the effigy the armour of the day is represented with the greatest minuteness and fidelity ; at the head two little angels are ready to carry to heaven the departing soul, which on the monument of Aymer de Valence is shewn as a little naked child. This tomb once had a fine canopy, illustrated in Dart, 107.

4. To the right of it is a small tomb, with diminutive alabaster effigies of two **Children of Edward III.**, in the costume of the day.

5. Then comes a stately table tomb, with effigy, of Frances Grey, **Duchess of Suffolk**, d. 1559.

She was daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary, Queen of France, and therefore granddaughter of Henry VII., and was the mother of Lady Jane Grey. Like Catherine of France, she contracted a mesalliance by her second marriage to Adrian Stokes, who erected the monument to her with the inscription,

"Nupta duci prius est, uxor post Armigeri Stokes."*

Francis Holles

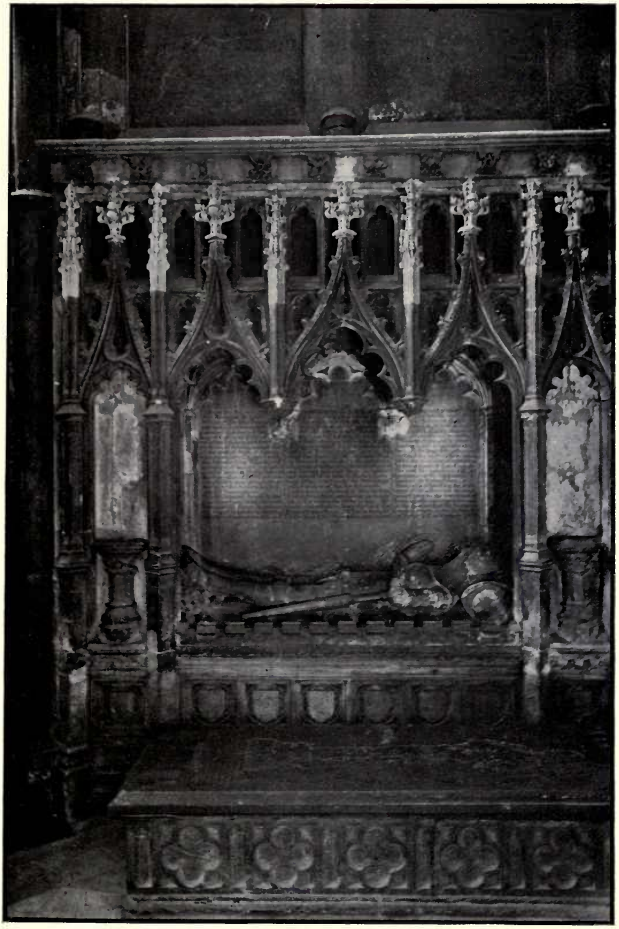
6. Then comes a seated figure of **Francis Holles**, d. 1622.

He died at the age of eighteen, on returning from his first campaign in the Netherlands. The monument is by the famous sculptor Nicholas Stone, and, according to Horace Walpole, is "a figure of most antique simplicity and beauty."

7. Next is the seated statue of **Elizabeth Russell**, d. 1601.

She was a daughter of Lord John Russell, and was one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour. She points with her finger to a skull, the emblem of mortality. Sir Roger de

* "First she married a Duke ; afterwards Stokes Esquire."



Sir Bernard Brocas

Coverl-y was told that she died of the prick of a needle, occasioned by working on a Sunday. She is seated erect in her osier chair;

"dormit, non mortua est"

says the epitaph. This is the first of the sepulchral effigies in the Abbey which departs from the recumbent posture.

8. Then comes the monument of her father, **Lord John Russell**, d. 1584.

This monument has been recently redecorated by the Duke of Bedford. On it are inscriptions in Latin, Greek, and English by his wife, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook and sister of Lady Burleigh.

Earl of Shrewsbury

9. In the pavement is a slab to **Lord Lytton**, the novelist, d. 1873.

10. Opposite the doorway is a Gothic wall-monument to **Sir Bernard Brocas** (d. 1396); and in front of it the table tomb of Sir Humphrey Bourchier, who was killed at the battle of Barnet; the brass is missing.

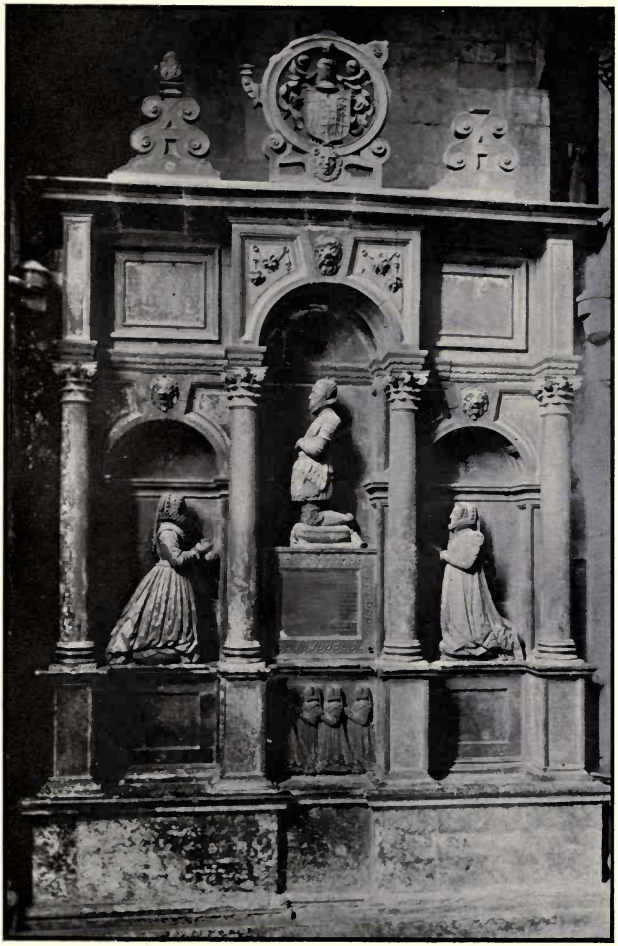
Sir Roger de Coverley, on his visit to the Abbey, as recorded in the *Spectator* No. 329, was much interested to hear that Sir Bernard Brocas was "the lord who cut off the King of Morocco's head." True it is that he served in the wars against the Moors, and there won the crest which surmounts his helmet, the crowned head of a Moor. There are remains of a beautiful inscription in black letters, every word being separated by foliage or by an animal.

11. Then comes the Elizabethan monument of **Sir Richard Pecksall**, d. 1571, with his two wives and four daughters.

12. To the right is the stately Jacobean monument of the **Earl of Shrewsbury**, d. 1617, with the effigies of the Earl and his Countess and their daughter, a little girl who kneels at her mother's feet.

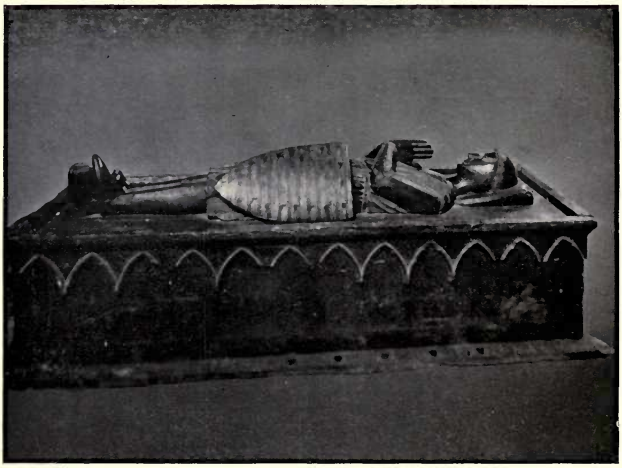
13. On the left of the doorway is the wooden tomb of **William de Valence** (d. 1296), half-brother of Henry III.

Once it was surrounded by thirty-one little "weepers." The effigy was first carved in oak, and then covered with thin plates of copper engraved, the junctions being hid for the most part by borders of filigree work set



Sir Richard Pecksall

with imitation gems. The wonderful beauty of the enamel is best seen on the shield reflected in the mirror which hangs above it. This monument must have come from Limoges in South-west France, the headquarters of the art. A full-sized illustration of it, showing the original colouring and design of the enamel, has been placed in the Chapter-house. He was the father of Aymer de Valence, whose monument is on the North side of the Sanctuary.



William de Valence

6. St Nicholas's Chapel

Leaving St Edmund's chapel, we see in the Ambulatory, a little farther on, the back of the tomb of **Queen Philippa.** Opposite is the chapel of St Nicholas, fenced by a stone screen erected early in the fifteenth century.

1. The noble monument in the centre is that of **Sir George Villiers**, and Lady Villiers; it was executed by Nicholas Stone in 1631, at a cost of £560.

The following are the chief monuments in this chapel, beginning at the doorway, and proceeding from left to right:

2. The first is the Jacobean tomb of **Lady Cecil**, d. 1591.

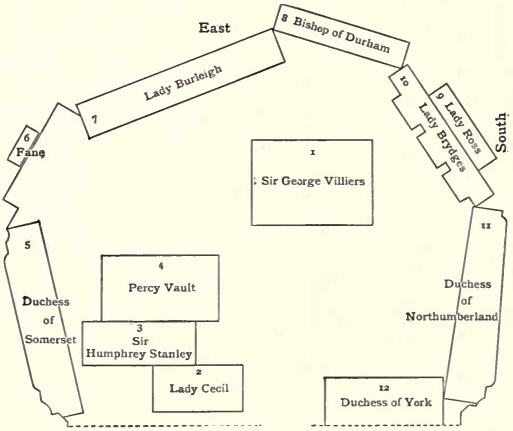
The tomb is of alabaster, and covered with a thick slab of black marble,

without an effigy. She was wife of Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, son of the great Lord Burghley, and died in childbirth the third year after her marriage.

"Earth could not yield more pleasing earthly bliss:
Blest with two babes, the third brought her to this."

3. At the foot of it is a small brass to **Sir Humphrey Stanley**, d. 1505; he was knighted for his bravery on Bosworth Field.

He is represented bareheaded, as usually on Tudor brasses; in plate armour, with a dagger and long sword; the cuirass has long flaps and a skirt of mail. It should be compared with the Lancastrian brass of Sir John Harpedon.



St Nicholas's Chapel

4. Close to it is the **Percy Vault**. The Percy family alone retains the privilege of being buried in the Abbey.

5. On the wall, to the right of the tomb of Lady Cecil, is the Jacobean monument of the **Duchess of Somerset**, who died in 1587 at the age of ninety.

She was "dear spouse unto the renowned Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward VI." beheaded on Tower Hill in 1551 for felonious practices against his nephew.

"The Earl of Hertford, Edward, her eldest son, in this doleful duty careful and diligent, doth consecrate this monument to his dear parent, not for her honour wherewith living she did abound and now departing flourisheth, but for the dutiful love he beareth her and for his last testification thereof."

6. Next comes another Jacobean monument of a husband and wife, **Sir George Fane**, d. 1618, and Lady Fane, who kneel beneath a curtained canopy.

At the apex is a pair of turtle doves, surmounting a heart inscribed "Vivere sine se nequeunt."

7. On the wall, facing the doorway, is the lofty Elizabethan monument erected to **Lady Burleigh** (d. 1589), and her daughter.

Above is a kneeling statue of Lord Burleigh, who is himself buried at Stamford. Below are effigies of Lady Burleigh and her daughter Lady Vere; at the feet of the mother kneels her only son, Robert Cecil; at her head, her three granddaughters. Long Latin inscriptions by Lord Burleigh himself tell how that for forty-three years she shared all his fortunes in prosperity and adversity, and was ever merciful to the poor, and a great benefactor in secret to learned men, and herself during her whole life conversant with theology, and especially with the works in Greek of Basil, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen. Never were English women so learned as in Elizabeth's long reign, nor ever more respected and beloved; "most dear," was Lady Burleigh, says her husband, "beyond all the race of womankind."

8. Next is the Gothic monument of Dudley, **Bishop of Durham**, d. 1483.

It is very similar to that of Sir Bernard Brocas in St Edmund's chapel, from which it is probably copied.

9. Then, high up, comes the effigy of **Lady Ross**, d. 1591; formerly it rested on the pavement.

10. Below is a fine Elizabethan monument of **Lady Brydges**, Marchioness of Winchester, d. 1586.

Below kneels her son, Lord Buckhurst, the poet, and her daughter, Lady Dacre, with her baby. Lady Dacre founded the Emmanuel Hospital at Westminster.

11. Then comes the monument of the **Duchess of Northumberland**, d. 1776, designed by Robert Adam.

12. Adjoining the screen, is the Gothic monument of Philippa, **Duchess of York**, d. 1433.

It was formerly in the centre of the chapel, when it had a triple canopy in wood, similar to that of the monument of Edward III.; it is illustrated by Dart. The Duchess is represented, like Alianore de Bohun, in the attire of a nun or widow. She was wife of Edward Langley, Duke of York, grandson of Edward III.; the Duke was slain at Agincourt. The Duchess left directions in her will that at the place where she died and at every place where her body rested on its way to Westminster, her exequies should be performed with Dirge over night, and a Mass of Requiem before their removal in the morning; and that on the day of the funeral six marks

Duchess of Somerset

and 40d. should be distributed between one thousand poor men and women, a penny to each. A thousand Dirges to be sung on the first day and a thousand Masses the next. After many bequests to monks, priests, and monasteries, the residue of her goods was to be divided into four portions; for Masses, for relief of prisoners, for the poor, and for the repair of roads.

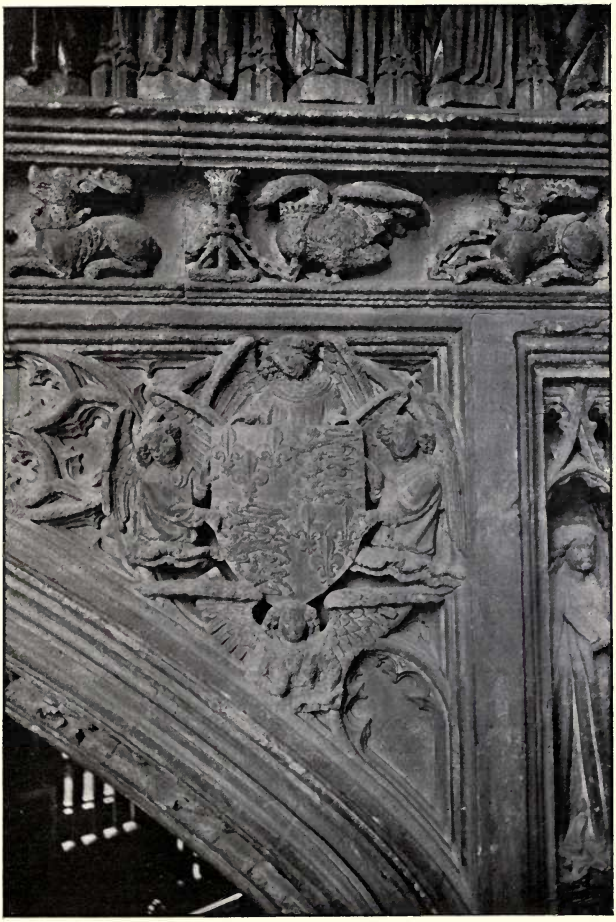
Philippa, Duchess of York

7. Henry V.'s Chantry Chape

On leaving St Nicholas's chapel, to the right is seen a bridge of masonry thrown over the Ambulatory; on it, high up, is the Chantry chapel of Henry V., covered with sculpture.

The square compartment on the South side of the chantry, above the arch, represents a Coronation of Henry V.; probably that in France. In the spandril illustrated three angels hold his shield, on which he has the leopards and the fleurs de lys as King of England and King of France (193). In the frieze are alternately an antelope, collared, and a swan, collared, chained to a beacon. When Prince of Wales, Henry bore two *swans* for supporters in respect of his mother, who was a co-heiress of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford. When king, he bore on his dexter side a lion guardant, on his sinister an *antelope*. Of the *Beacon* or *Crescet Light burning* the following explanation is given: "Henry V., by reason of his dissolute life in the time of his father's reign, when, after the death of the said king his father, he was anointed and crowned monarch of this realm, betook unto him for his badge or cognisance a Crescet Light burning; showing thereby, that although his virtuous and good parts had been formerly obscured and lay as a dead coal wanting light to kindle it . . . being now in this high Imperial throne, his virtues which before had lain dead, should now by his righteous reign shine as the light of Crescet, which is no ordinary light: meaning also, that he should be a light and guide to his people to follow him in all virtue and honour." At the top of the parapet is another frieze in which swans and antelopes alternate.

Passing underneath the arch, we see before us the chapel of Henry VII. Before visiting its nave, it is best to turn to the right, and to enter the South aisle by a small doorway on the left.



Henry the Fifth's Chantry Chapel

8. Lady Margaret's Chapel

Both this and the North aisle are ceiled with fan vaults with large central pendants. 1. At the entrance is the monument of Margaret, **Countess of Lennox**, d. 1578.

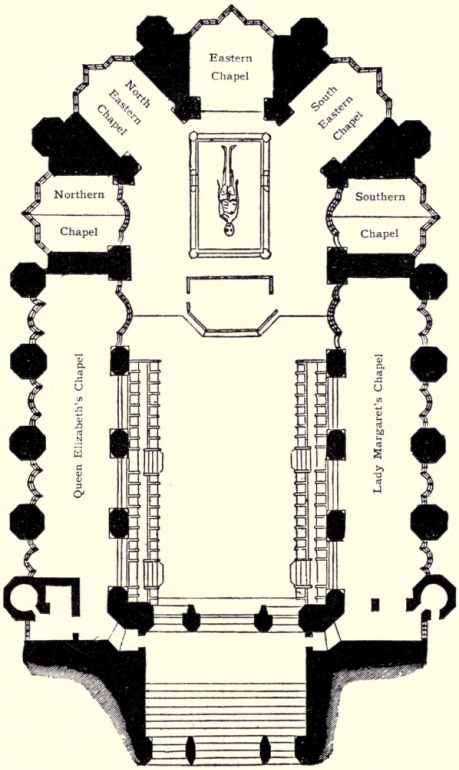
Her epitaph recounts that her great-grandfather was Edward IV., her grandfather was Henry VII., her uncle was Henry VIII., her cousin was Edward VI., her brother was James V. of Scotland, her son was Henry I. of Scotland (as husband of Mary, Queen of Scots), her grandson was James VI. of Scotland (*i.e.*, James I. of England); but in spite of all this royalty, she died in poverty in the village of Hackney, Middlesex. Then at last her cousin, Queen Elizabeth, came to the rescue, and had her buried in Westminster Abbey. Her sons kneel on the side of the tomb facing the window; the foremost of them, with remains of the fastening of a crown, and looking towards the tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots, is Henry Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary; "this Henry," says the epitaph, "was myrthered at the age of 21 yeares." He was strangled and then blown up with gunpowder, not without suspicion of the connivance of Queen Mary, his wife.

2. Next comes the beautiful monument of **Mary, Queen of Scots.**

She was executed at Fotheringhay in 1587, and buried in Peterborough Cathedral. In 1612 her remains were quietly transferred to Westminster by her son, King James I., and a monument was erected by him similar to that of Queen Elizabeth, and occupying the same position in the south aisle as Elizabeth's occupies in the north aisle; that, as James said, "the like honour might be extant of her, that had been done to his dear sister, the late Queen Elizabeth." The effigy is of white marble, very finely executed. Her head rests on two embroidered cushions; her hands are raised in prayer. She wears a close coif with a narrow edging, and a laced ruff and a tucker, both plaited. Her features are small, but peculiarly sweet and delicate. Her mantle is lined with ermine and fastened over the breast with a jewelled brooch. The borders of her stomacher are wrought with chain-work; her vest has a row of small buttons down the middle, with knots on either side. At her feet sits the Scottish lion, crowned, and once supporting the emblems of sovereignty. To her tomb pious Scots resorted as to the shrine of a canonised saint, and it was told that miracles were wrought thereat.

3. **The Stuart Vault.** This vault, marked by a slab West of Queen Mary's monument, was opened by Dean Stanley in 1868.

"A startling, almost an awful scene, presented itself. A vast pile of leaden coffins rose from the floor; some of full stature, the larger number varying in form from that of the full-grown child to the merest infant, confusedly heaped upon the others, while several urns of various shapes were tossed about in irregular positions throughout the vault." One coffin, of a solid and stately character, and shaped to the body, was that of Mary, Queen of Scots; it was saturated with pitch, and deeply compressed by the weight above; on it lay the coffin of Arabella Stuart, cousin of James I., and for that reason imprisoned in the Tower till she died a madwoman. Besides these, there were the coffins of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I.;



Henry the Seventh's Chapel, with Stalls and Screens in their original position

that of her famous son, Prince Rupert; that of Anne Hyde, first wife of James II., and mother of the sisters, Queen Mary and Queen Anne; that of Henry, eldest son of James I.; those of *four children* of Charles I.; those of *ten children* of James II.; and *eighteen children* of Queen Anne, all of whom died in infancy except William, who lived eleven years. What a doomed dynasty!

4. On a pedestal farther on, facing a window, is a statue erected by Horace Walpole to his mother, **Lady Walpole**,

Lord Darnley

Mary, Queen of Scots

"an Ornament to Courts, untainted by them"; it is interesting as having been copied at Rome from a famous statue of Modestia.

5. In front of it is the monument, with effigy of gilt bronze, of **Margaret Beaufort**. Her first husband was Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and their son became Henry VII.

She was great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and so

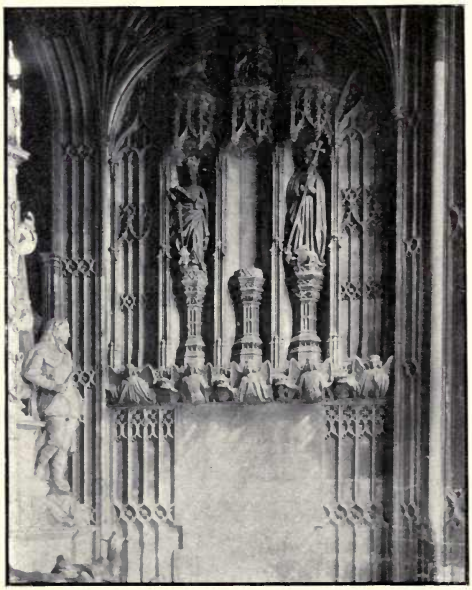
brought in the Lancastrian blood of which Henry VII. was especially proud. In religion and learning she was the pattern of her age and of ages to come; the first of that order of good, pious, and learned women which was to be the glory of the Tudor age. To her are due the splendid foundations of Christ's College and St John's College, Cambridge, and the Lady Margaret professorships of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge; her name has recently been revived in the title of the Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford. She died in

Sir Thomas Lovell and Lady Walpole

1509, and her funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Fisher; "every one that knew her," he said, "loved her, and everything that she said or did became her." Caxton's printing press in the Almonry was under her special protection. In her effigy, which is of gilded bronze by the great Florentine artist, Torrigiano, she wears a widow's dress; at her feet is an antelope. This effigy and those of Henry VII. and his Queen, are "simple, quiet, and serious; the faces and hands entirely noble; the greatest sculptures ever

wrought in England."* The features are *petites*, and, as also the delicate hands, are full of character. The tombs and effigies of Henry VII., Elizabeth of York, and Margaret Beaufort are of immense importance in the history of English art, as being the first notable examples in England of the foreign Renaissance art which was soon utterly to overwhelm the indigenous Gothic of our country. It is interesting to see that the metal canopy above the head is not classical in design, but of Flamboyant Gothic tracery.

6. Near the statue of Lady Walpole, facing the window, is a bronze medallion, nobly wrought, of **Sir Thomas Lovell**, also



Reredos

by Torrigiano; it was formerly placed over Sir Thomas's manor house at East Harling, Norfolk; it was presented by Sir J. C Robinson.

Torrigiano worked in the same studio with Michael Angelo, whose nose he broke in one of his quarrelsome fits, disfiguring him for life. He was a

* Lethaby, 237.

Margaret Beaufort

big, ill-tempered brute, for ever bragging, on his return to Italy, of his pugilistic victories over "those bears of Englishmen."*

7. Still farther to the left is a huge rostral monument to **General Monk**, who brought about the Restoration; below is a long inscription about the donors of the monument, but not a word about Monk (198). He is buried in the North aisle of the chapel.

8. At the East end of this South aisle a fine sculptured Reredos remains. The statue on the left represents **St Catherine** of Alexandria; that on the right, **St Margaret** of Antioch. Henry VII., as appears from his will, was very proud of his descent from Catherine of France, queen of Henry V., and his grandmother.

St Catherine the martyr, of Alexandria, d. A.D. 317, was a learned princess of Egypt, who resolved to be the bride of none but Christ himself. After a long argument with the heathen emperor Maxentius, in which he was talked down, she was condemned to be racked on a spiked wheel; the wheel broke, and her head was then struck off with a sword. In this niche and in the East window of St Margaret's Church she is shewn sword in hand, and with a broken wheel at her feet, and trampling on Maxentius. On the right is a statue of St Margaret of Antioch; who, because she refused to marry a heathen prince, was beaten and cast into prison, where, it was said, there fell upon her a vast dragon and swallowed her; but the sign of the cross which she put upon her grew and grew, till the dragon was cleft asunder, and Margaret stept forth unhurt. Therefore at her feet is placed a dragon.

9. Underneath the altar platform are buried no less than four English sovereigns: **Queen Anne** (and her husband, **Prince George of Denmark**), **William III.** and **Mary II.**, and **Charles II.**; not one of them has a monument.

We now leave this aisle, which, with its tombs of Margaret Beaufort and Margaret Lennox, and its statue of St Margaret, used, very properly, to be called "My Lady Margarettes Chapel."†

9. Henry the Seventh's Chapel

We now leave Lady Margaret's chapel, and, turning to the right, enter the nave of Henry the Seventh's Lady chapel. Overhead is a wonderful **Fan Vault,** fitted together with the

* Symonds, *Life of Cellini*, i. 27.

† The chapel is so styled in Walcott's *Inventory*, 41. It was given a chantry endowment in Margaret Beaufort's will. "We will that our executors do make in the chapel a convenient tomb, and one altar or two in the same chapel for two chantry masses there perpetually to be said."

precision of an astronomical instrument; the greatest achievement in masoncraft in the whole world. On either side of the chapel are the **Stalls**, once occupied by the monks when they attended the services of Our Lady. They are of the same date as the chapel, and are surmounted by elaborate tabernacles of diversified design; the **Misericords** or seats are hinged, so that, when raised, they might give support during prolonged periods

Henry VII.'s Grate

of standing. The banners above, and the brass plates on the backs of the upper stalls, are those of the **Knights of the Bath**, who in 1661 and from 1725 to 1812 were here installed (135). Their banners continued to be hung here till 1839. Among the more interesting is that of the Duke of Wellington in the third bay from the West on the North side; and in the third bay from the East on the South side that of the brave sailor, Thomas Cochrane, Lord Dundonald, of which he was deprived in 1814;

it was restored to his family on his death, and was replaced in the chapel in 1860 by order of Queen Victoria.

Among the misericords of the lower stalls the most interesting on the south side are (1) a woman thrashing a prostrate man; (2) a woman birching a man; (3) two boys playing "tournament" with hands and legs tied to a stick, with a boy as a "supporter" astride a cock-horse.

Now we turn to the bronze **Grille**, or *sacellum*, as Dart calls it, of Henry VII. (151).

In front was erected in 1519 an altar to Our Lady with a magnificent classical canopy by Torrigiano; beneath the altar slab was "a baken image of earth coloured (terra-cotta) of Christ dead," visible through bronze balusters which supported the touchstone slab. In a small vault under this altar was buried the young king, Edward VI., in 1553, amid universal mourning, but no monument has ever been erected over his grave. In 1643 the altar and canopy were destroyed by the Puritans because of Torrigiano's images. A portion of the white marble frieze of the canopy and two of the original pillars, with beautiful Renaissance scroll work, have been recovered, and are worked into the modern altar.

In 1509 King Henry VII. died, and was buried, not like his predecessors, in a raised tomb, but in a vault. Round

his tomb is what he calls in his will "a grate in manner of a closure of copper and gilt, after the fashion that we have begun." It has been much mutilated, having lost its altar and much of its cresting and many of its bronze statuettes, but is still by far the finest piece of metalwork in the country. Notice the four huge Tudor roses crowned, one at each end, composed of one rose inside a second rose and with well-developed stamens; they contain prickets to support great

tapers. In the vault below is the coffin of **James I.**, side by side with those of **Henry VII.** and **Elizabeth of York.**

Everywhere there are fierce little **Dragons** and **Greyhounds.** Henry liked to think that through his Welsh parentage—his grandmother, Catherine of France, after the death of Henry V., had married a Welsh squire, Owen Tudor—he was the representative of Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons. Henry's standard at Bosworth Field had been a red dragon painted on white and green silk; commemorated by the institution of a Pursuivant at Arms, styled "Rouge Dragon." The greyhound was an ancient supporter of the arms of the house of Beaufort, to which his mother, Margaret, belonged. So that the dragon confronting the greyhound means: "My father was a Welshman, my mother a Beaufort; on the one side I

derive from British, on the other from Lancastrian kings"; while the Tudor rose symbolises the union of the Houses of Lancaster and York by the marriage of Henry, nephew of the last Lancastrian sovereign, Henry VI., with Elizabeth, daughter of the first Yorkist sovereign, Edward IV.

Formerly there were thirty-two statuettes of gilt bronze on the grate; all but six have been stolen. The figures are very vigorous and effective, as may be seen in passing round the grille. At the South-west angle is an admirable **St George**. On the South side is **St John Evangelist**, bearing the poisoned

chalice, and, further on, **St Bartholomew**, with his skin on his arm; and above, **the Confessor**, holding up the ring. On the East side is **St James the Greater**, in pilgrim's garb; on the North side, a figure which seems to have lost a crown or a mitre (154).

The grate itself is constructed as if it were Gothic stonework, but with a tendency towards Flamboyant design, as is not uncommon in late work in wood, metal, and glass. The **Tomb** within is by Torrigiano, completed between 1512 and 1518; he was to receive for it some £15,000. Except that it is a table tomb, it is wholly classic in design. The nobler Italian form of sarcophagus is followed by Torrigiano in the tomb of Dr John Young in the

Rolls Chapel; it is seen also in the magnificent tomb executed for Cardinal Wolsey, but which now, by a strange series of chances, is in the crypt of St Paul's and contains the bones of Nelson. Torrigiano's **Effigies** of Henry VII., Elizabeth of York, and Margaret Beaufort, are among the very noblest in Europe. They are undoubtedly portraits. "The personal characters of the king and queen are powerfully indicated not only in the faces but in the hands also, which are of an astonishing perfection of modelling. The disposition of the robes is simple, and not wanting in grandeur; and the lions on which the king and queen rest their feet are, in spirit, worthy of the finest periods of the sculptor's art."* The gay little angels at the corners, which once held banners, are very delightful; and are wholly classic, except that

Italian *putti* would be nude (152). Wholly classic too are the wreathed medallions, each containing two little figures of admirable workmanship. These are the patron saints mentioned in the king's will, with the addition of the Blessed Virgin and St Christopher. On the South side are (1) the **Virgin and Child**, and **St Michael** weighing a soul (below, a prostrate winged devil is depressing one of the scales with his clawed foot). The Babe is reaching forward to St Michael, who holds up a short cross or a banner. (2) Then follow **St John Baptist** and **St John Evangelist**, the latter a face of the sweetest beauty. The former points to the Agnus Dei; the latter holds his Gospel open in his left hand; beneath is his emblem, the eagle. (3) Then comes a manly figure of **St George**, with banner and sword (broken),

* A. Higgins, page 141.

below is the dragon; and **St Anthony** in conventual attire and with a rosary; from beneath his robe peeps his symbol, a pig. On the North side are (4) **St Mary Magdalene** with long flowing hair, holding in her left hand the vase of precious ointment; and **St Barbara**, who in the tower, in which she was imprisoned by her heathen father, had *three* windows inserted, symbolical of the Trinity. Thereon her father carried her to a high mountain and smote off her head, but was himself struck dead by lightning. Wherefore St Barbara is invoked for protection against thunder and lightning; and, by a natural extension, is the patroness of armourers and blacksmiths and firearms and fortifications. Note, therefore, the three-storied tower she carries. (5) Then comes **St Christopher**, who, unwitting, carried Christ as a little child

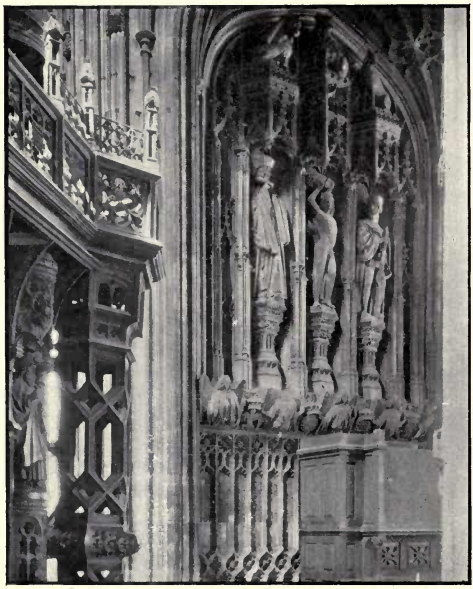
across a foaming river, bearing in his left hand a staff to steady himself against the torrent; which staff, as shewn in the bronze, being set in the ground, "to the conversion of many, presently waxed green, and brought forth leaves and flowers and fruit." On his right is **St Anna**, the instructress of the Blessed Virgin, reading in an open book. (6) Next is **Edward the Confessor**, holding up the ring (now gone), and **St Vincent**, the Spanish deacon; he is shewn in the vestments of a deacon. He is said to have suffered martyrdom in 304 A.D. He was stretched, like St Lawrence, on a gridiron over a slow fire, and was offered life if he would put his Bible in the flames. When unconscious, he was laid on the floor of the dungeon, and his face was sweet and smiling as though he saw visions of heaven, till he breathed his last. The casts in metal, says Brayley, as displayed in the figures and alto-relievos on Henry VII.'s tomb, have probably never been excelled.

Notice the great beauty of the black-letter inscription which runs round the grille, both within and without (201). Several of the brass plates on which the letters were cast have been lost; they are supplied in brackets from the inscription inside the grille; the full form of abbreviated words is given. Beginning on the West side the inscription is as follows:

"(Septimus Henricus tumulo requiescit in isto;
Qui regum splendor, lumen et orbis erat.)
Rex vigil et sapiens, comis, virtutis amator,
Egregia forma, strenuus atque potens.
Qui peperit pacem regno, qui bella peregit
(Plurima, qui victor) semper ab hoste redit,

Qui natas binis coniunxit regibus ambas,
Regibus et cunctis foedere iunctus erat.
Qui sacrum hoc struxit templum, statuitque sepulchrum,
Pro se, proque sua coniuge, prole, domo.
Lustra decem (atque annos tres plus) compleverat annis,
Nam tribus octenis regia sceptra tulit.
Quindecies domini (centenus fluxerat annus),
Currebat nonus cum venit atra dies.
Septima ter mensis lux tum fulgebat Aprilis,
Cum clausit summum tanta corona diem.
(Nulla dedere prius tantum tibi secula regem,
Anglia; vix similem posteriora dabunt.)"

The statuary in the various chapels and below the clerestory windows deserves careful attention; it was highly praised by Flaxman in his lectures delivered at the Royal Academy in 1821. The statues in the chapels, being larger and nearer to the eye, merit detailed examination. The statues illustrated are those in the triforium range of the nave, not those in the reredoses of the chapels. The latter are about 5 feet high; the



St Sebastian

former about 3 feet 3 inches. It is remarkable that several of the figures occur both in the triforium range and in the reredoses. Mr W. S. Weatherley notes that they are of two sorts. The first and earlier are of Reigate "firestone"; they have a taller proportion, with the folds of the drapery straighter than in the others; to this set belong statues of St Augustine, St Katherine, St Ambrose, St Helen, St Edward King and Martyr. The second and later set are of Caen stone.

St Matthew is represented with spectacles: a little angel with the right hand supports the Gospel, and with the left holds up an inkpot (156). **St Martin** of Tours is represented with breastplate and mail coat and with the famous cloak; in his hand he bears a mitre. He was an officer in a Roman cavalry squadron quartered at Amiens *c.* 336 A.D. One day as he was riding outside the gates, a naked beggar besought alms. The young officer drew his sword, and cut in two his long cavalry cloak and gave him one half of it. That night he dreamt that the whole scene was being re-enacted; but instead of the beggar, he saw his Lord clad with the half cloak. Much against his will he became in later life Bishop of Tours, wherefore his statue bears a mitre; but he continued to live a hermit life on a desert and rocky spot away from the town, except when he was away on long and arduous missionary journeys. **St Edward the Confessor** holds a sceptre in his right hand, and no doubt formerly held in his left the ring. The next figure illustrated is probably that of **St Oswald**, King of Northumbria from 634 to 642. When a child, he had been sent to Scotland for safety, and became a Christian under the influence of the monks of Iona. In 642 he was defeated and slain by Penda, the heathen King of Mercia: and his head, arms, and hands were struck off and nailed to a tree. A year later the head was buried at Lindisfarne, and the arms and hands at Bamburgh. When the Benedictine monks of Lindisfarne had to flee from the Danes, they carried with them not only the body of St Cuthbert, but in the same coffin the head of St Oswald. When the coffin was opened in 1828, and again in 1899, it was still there. **St Stephen** is shewn in a deacon's vestment, the fringed dalmatic; the two ends of a stole hang down in front on either side; on his left arm is the maniple. In his hands he holds a heap of stones, on which rests an open book. **St Jerome** was a wealthy Roman, a son of Christian parents, who renounced the comforts of his position, and lived the ascetic life, persuading many high-born ladies of Rome to follow his example. His influence on the Western Church was immense; partly because it was his example first that recommended the monastic ideal to Western Christians, partly because he supplied them with a translation of the Scriptures into Latin, the famous Vulgate. Twenty-two years he spent on the task; a lion, finding him always still and absorbed, used to visit him in the cave where he worked. The figure of **St Anne**, teaching the Blessed Virgin to read, is of great dignity, and has been reproduced again and again in recent stained glass. **St Anthony** is represented as usual with bell and pig; he has also a crooked staff and a sheath-knife. **St Ambrose** of Milan holds the staff of a crozier in his left hand, and in his right a scourge. **St Nicholas**, Bishop of Myra, in Asia Minor, is represented in rather unusual fashion holding in his left hand a basket in which is a naked babe. He was the patron saint of children; witness the title of the American magazine, *St Nicholas*. A cruel pork butcher had killed three little boys; St Nicholas found their severed heads and bodies in the pickling tub, and restored them to life; this scene is depicted on the font in Winchester cathedral. **St John the Evangelist** has in his hand a chalice, into the wine of which poison had been infused; but as he made over it the sign of the cross, the poison took the form of a dragon and fled. **St Roch** is represented as a pilgrim with cross keys on his broad hat; he has the pilgrim's staff and wallet, and a rosary; there is a sore on his left leg. **St Wilgeforte** or St Uncumber is a bearded lady, much in demand at childbirth; in front of her is an open book resting on what looks like a T square. **St Edward, King and Martyr**, has lost both hands; on his breast is a pin by which something was formerly affixed. He is not to be confounded with Edward the Confessor who

died in his bed. The former became King of Wessex at the age of thirteen, and reigned three years and a half till 979, when being hot and thirsty after the hunt he called at Corfe, the castle of his wicked queen mother, and was given to drink; but as he drank, he was treacherously struck from behind, and fled to die in the forest. His body was hurriedly buried without any kind of kingly honours at Wareham; where, on the south side of the Priory church, may still be seen the Gothic vaulted chapel which reproduces the little wooden chapel where he was laid. Twelve months later the body was removed to Shaftesbury, where there arose above it one of the grandest abbeys in England—the foundations were laid bare three years ago—and the town itself became known till the Dissolution as Edwardstow.

St Edward Confessor

St Oswald

St Stephen

St Jerome

St Anne

St Anthony

St Ambrose

St Nicholas

St John

St Roch

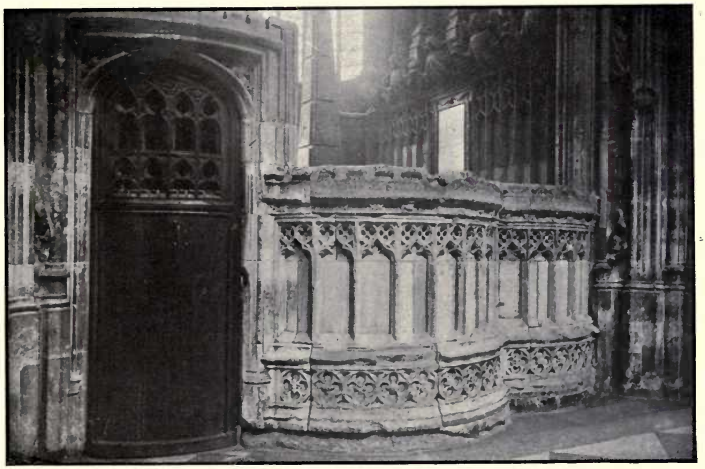
St Wilgeforte

St Edward, King and Martyr

10. Southern Chapel

We now turn to the first chapel in the nave, that near the Southern range of stalls. It contains a great monument to the **Duke of Lennox,** who died in 1623, the last of the legitimate line. The canopy is supported by allegorical figures of Faith, Hope, Prudence, and Charity.

The beautiful curving screen with the original door should be noticed ; these are seen also in the corresponding chapel on the North side ; in both,



Screen of Northern Chapel

however, all the upper parts of the screen have been removed. In the Reredos, on the left is St Dionysius or St Denis, the patron saint of France ; on the right is St Paul (149). **St Denis** was Bishop of Paris, and, being decapitated A.D. 237, walked with the severed head in his hand to a hill two miles away, "Martyr's hill," or "Montmartre." Over the scene of his martyrdom a little church was built by St Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, and ultimately the great abbey church of St Denis, ancient burial place of the kings of France. Just as the statue of St George indicates Henry's claim to the English throne, so that of St Denis emphasises the fact that he had not relinquished that to the throne of France. On the right is **St Paul**, with the book of his Epistles supported by the pommel of the sword, now broken, by which he suffered martyrdom.

11. South-Eastern Chapel

In the second chapel are the tombs of **Dean Stanley**, d. 1881; and the **Duc de Montpensier,** brother of King Louis Philippe, d. 1807.

In the Eastern Reredos, on the left, is perhaps **St Clare,** holding a pyx; the first woman who threw in her lot with St Francis of Assisi (149). In the centre is **St Roch,** with a staff and a broad hat, on which is the sign of the crossed keys; on his left is a dog with a small loaf in its mouth. On his right is perhaps **St Monica** in a cypress veil, bearing a small vase in her left hand. At the other end of the chapel are three more statues. On the left is **St Dorothy** carrying a wicker basket of the flowers and fruits of Paradise, as on the rood-screens of Blofield, Norfolk, and Yaxley and Westhall, Suffolk. In the centre is **St Christopher** with his large staff, carrying the child Christ over a river; the head of the child is gone. On the right is **St Apollonia**; in her right hand is a book, in her left a pair of pincers. She is represented holding a tooth in pincers on the rood-screens of Lessingham, Barton Turf and Ludham, Norfolk, and Westhall, Suffolk, in allusion to the torture to which she was subjected.

12. Eastern Chapel

In the third chapel it was intended that Henry VI. should be buried. In the Commonwealth days there were interred here Oliver Cromwell, his great admiral, Blake, General Ireton, John Bradshaw, President of the tribunal which tried Charles I., and others; their bodies were ejected in 1660, and thrown into a pit in the churchyard north of the nave. At the back is now the **Queen's Coronation chair**, said to have been used first at the coronation of William and Mary (147); it used to stand, as shewn in the illustration (237), near the King's chair.

On the North are three statues. That on the left is **St Nicholas,** with crozier, and with an infant child in a basket. In the centre is a vacant niche with the initials **H. R.** placed between a pomegranate and a rose; evidently this was intended for a statue of Henry VI. On the right is the figure of some **Archbishop,** perhaps St Thomas of Canterbury.

On the South side are three more statues. On the left is **King Edward the Confessor,** with crown and sceptre, and holding in his left hand the ring which was sent back to him from Palestine by St John Evangelist. In the centre is **St Peter,** with the book of his Epistles and a key. On the right is **St Edmund** crowned; in his right hand is one of the arrows by which he suffered death at the hands of the Danes; in his left he holds the orb of sovereignty.

Here have been gathered together fragments of the original **Heraldic Glass** from various windows of the chapel. In the *bottom* row, beginning at the left are seen:

1. The Rose tree with red Lancastrian roses, crowned.
2. The Fleur de lys of France.
3. Red Rose of Lancaster and White Rose of York, crowned.
4. The Leopards of England and the Fleurs de lys of France.
5. Red Rose of Lancaster and White Rose of York, crowned.
6. The Portcullis, crowned.
7. The Fleur de lys of France.
8. A Rose tree with red Lancastrian roses, crowned.

In the *middle* row, beginning at the left, are seen :

1. The Red Rose of Lancaster, crowned.
2. The Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York, crowned.
3. The Portcullis, crowned.
4. The Rose tree, with red Lancastrian roses, with initials H. R.
5. The Red Rose of Lancaster, crowned.
6. The Portcullis, crowned.
7. The Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York, crowned.
8. The Rose tree with red Lancastrian roses, crowned.
9. The Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York, crowned.
10. The Shield of Edward the Confessor.

The Portcullis, like the Greyhound, belonged to the Beauforts ; to it Henry added the motto, "Altera Securitas," implying that as the grated portcullis, when let down, gave additional security to the door below, so his descent through his mother added strength to his other titles. From this spot is an excellent view of the finest of all the reredoses, that in the next chapel to the north, which represents **St Sebastian** tied naked to a tree ; on each side is a man with a cross-bow ; the first is taking aim, the other, a man with a powerful face, is preparing to do so (208).

13. North-Eastern Chapel

In the fourth chapel is buried, with no memorial but a slab, **Anne of Denmark,** d. 1618, Queen of James I. : she was remarkably tall ; the leaden coffin is 6 feet 7 inches long. Here is the monument of the **Duke of Buckinghamshire,** d. 1721 ; the Duchess, d. 1742, is also buried here : on her death-bed she made her ladies promise that if she lay senseless, they would not sit down in the room before she was dead.

Duke of Buckinghamshire

The waxen effigies of the duchess and her son, which were

carried at her funeral, are shown in the Islip chantry. On the sarcophagus in the chapel reclines the Duke in Roman armour and a contemplative position, while his lady, seated above in the costume of George the First's reign, but with sandalled feet, looks at him with considerable interest. The poet Pope gave his valuable assistance in the composition. He tells us that it comprises "the portraiture of his Grace, habited like a Roman general; at his feet the Duchess, weeping. On the top of the basis of the column is seen in relievo Time bearing away the four deceased children of the Duchess, whose effigies are represented in profile-bustos, supported by Cupids lamenting." On the pedestal behind the Duke is the agnostic epitaph which he wrote himself, and which gave rise to much controversy:

"Dubius, sed non Improbus, Vixi.
Incertus morior, non Perturbatus;
Humanum est Nescire et Errare.
(Christum adveneror.) Deo confido
Omnipotenti Benevolentissimo;
Ens Entium miserere mei."*

The words in brackets were struck out by Dean Atterbury, because, as he said quite rightly, the term "adveneror" is in strict theological parlance applicable only to the veneration of the saints.

14. Northern Chapel

This is the fifth chapel, next to the northern stalls. It is filled by the huge monument of the favourite of Charles I., the **Duke of Buckingham**, who was assassinated at Portsmouth, in 1628, by an old soldier, John Felton, who believed, says Clarendon, that "he should do God good service if he killed the Duke" (143).

Here are the first of the host of allegorical heathenish figures which disgrace the church. Lofty obelisks are based on metal skulls, and at the foot of the obelisks sit in various mournful attitudes Mars, Neptune, Pallas, and Benevolence. Says James Ralph, the eminent architect, "In a word, I have yet seen no ornament that has pleased me better, and very few so well."† On the wall opposite are three statues. On the left is **St Stephen** as a deacon, with dalmatic and stole; in his right hand he holds a heap of stones on which he supports a book. In the centre is **St Jerome**, represented as a cardinal; on his left a small lion fawns on him. On his right is perhaps **St Vincent**, the Spanish deacon.

Northern Misericords. In the lower stalls the following are the most interesting, beginning at the East. The third represents the Phoenix, waiting to be reincarnated in its nest

* "In doubt but not in vice I lived.
I die uncertain, but unafraid;
We know not and we err.
Christ I venerate. In God
Omnipotent, All Good, I put my trust.
Essence of all being, have mercy on me."

† *Critical Review of Public Buildings*, 1736.

of flames; the last but one, near the great gates, may refer to David and Goliath, or may be taken from mediaeval romance. On the end stall above is a charming little oaken figure; perhaps **Henry VII.** contemplating his great work (164). In vaults beneath the centre of the nave are buried, without other memorial than a slab, **King George II.** and **Queen Caroline**, and many other members of the Hanoverian family. It is astonishing how quickly the English sovereigns were forgotten:

Lockplate

at Westminster, Edward the Sixth, his sister, Queen Mary, James the First, Charles the Second, William the Third and his wife, Queen Mary, her sister, Queen Anne, George the Second and Queen Caroline; and at Windsor, Henry the Sixth, Henry the Eighth, and Charles the First are all buried like paupers without a monument.

The magnificent **Gates** to the West are by the same craftsmen as the grate round Henry the Seventh's tomb, and are a marvellous specimen of delicate design and workmanship; on the northern door is a pretty little lockplate. The gates are intended to be seen from the inside of the chapel.

Among the devices are found several times (1) H. R., the initials of Henricus Rex ; (2) Rose branches impaling a crown ; (3) a cluster of Daisies (Marguerites) impaling a crown, the cognisance of Henry's mother, *Margaret* Beaufort ; (4) a Falcon on an open fetterlock, the badge of Edward IV. ; in addition to which there recur the bearings described in the glass of the third chapel, page 218.

15. Queen Elizabeth's Chapel

Leaving the nave, and turning to the right, we enter the **North Aisle**. Close by the entrance is a little **Sacristy**, built for three chantry priests of the Order of St Benedict.

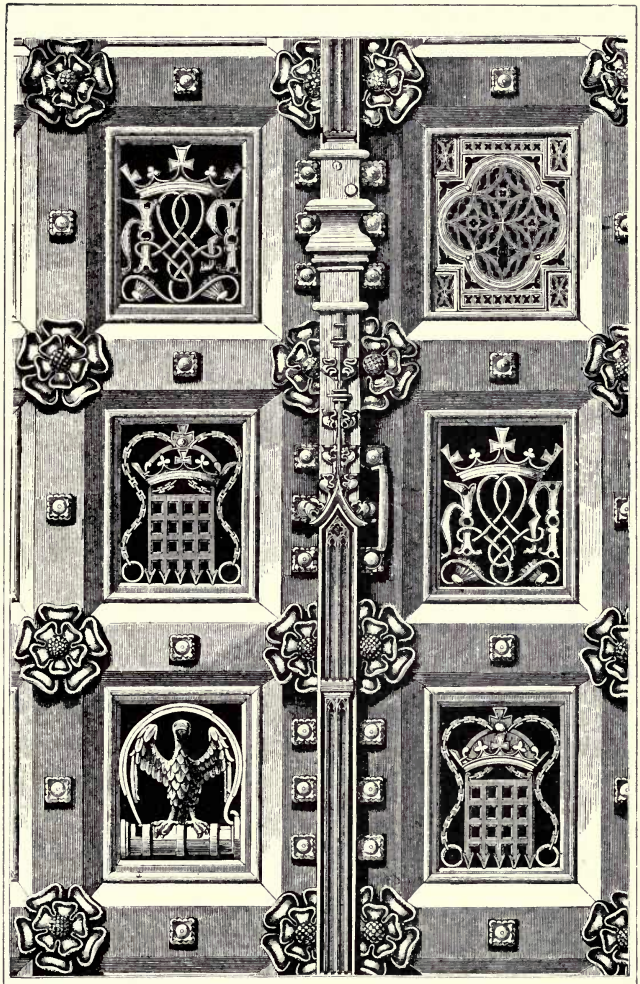
According to the directions of Henry's will, "perpetually while the world shall endure, they shall . . . pray specially and principally for the soul of the same king, our sovereign lord, and also for the soul of the Princess Elizabeth, the late queen his wife, and for their children and issue, and for Prince Edward, the king's father and Margaret his mother, and for all Christian souls," at the altar of Our Saviour at the east end of the bronze Grate.

1. On entering the aisle, a modern slab marks the grave of **Addison**, d. 1719, whose statue is in the South transept.

2. In front is the monument of **Queen Elizabeth**, d. 1603, erected by James I., but by no means so large or so costly or so beautiful as that of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, in the South aisle. But of all the post-Reformation tombs it was by far the dearest to the English people; a drawing of it long hung in every London church and in most churches in the country (228).*

The recumbent effigy of the queen is finely executed in white marble. The countenance exactly resembles the best of her portraits, when represented in advanced years ; the features being strong, but dignified. Her attire is regal, but the crown is gone and the sceptre and orb are broken. She has on a close coif, from which her hair descends in small curls ; pendant jewels are attached to her ears, and she wears a necklace of pearls, having a large drop in the centre. The point-lace frill of her chemise is turned back upon a broad, plaited ruff, below which was a collar of the Order of the Garter, cast in lead and gilt ; but the last portion of this was stolen when the iron railing round the tomb was removed, with so many others, in 1822 ;† the holes by which the collar was attached may still be seen. The Latin epitaph commemorates her defeat of the Armada, her zeal for religion, her skill in many languages, her great endowments both of intellect and person, her qualities beyond her sex, that she was a Princess Incomparable.

* Stanley, 153.
† Neale, i. 64.



Gates of Henry VII.'s Chapel

Mary, Queen of Scots

Elizabeth, Queen of England

In the vault below her elder sister, **Queen Mary**, had been buried in 1558; the stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on that of Mary. Of Mary there was no memorial till King James I. caused the following Latin inscription to be placed on the Western base of the tomb: "Regno consortes et urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis." * At the east end of the chapel are two small monuments of alabaster to two little daughters of James I.

Princess Sophia

3. The **Princess Sophia** died three days after her birth; "Rosula Regia praepropero Fato decerpta," her epitaph calls her, "parentibus erepta, ut in Christi Rosario reflorescat"; † at her father's wish her tomb is an alabaster cradle.

4. Her sister, the **Princess Maria**, lies on a little table-tomb, resting on her left arm. "She was, according to her father, 'a most beautiful infant,' and her death, at the age of two years and a half, is described as peculiarly

* "Here two sisters sleep, who sat on the same throne and rest in the same grave."

† "A royal rosebud, untimely plucked by death; torn from her parents to bloom afresh in the rose garden of Christ."

touching. The little creature kept repeating, 'I go, I go'—'Away I go'; and again a third time, 'I go, I go.'"*

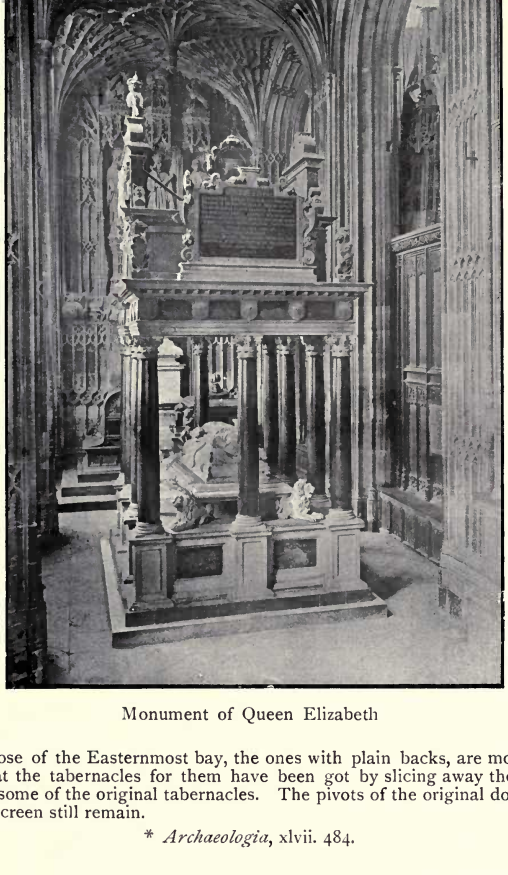
5. In a recess in the East wall is a coffer containing the bones of two boys, the one conjectured to have been thirteen, the other ten years of age, which were discovered in 1674 in a wooden chest, ten feet below the stairs which formerly led to the Chapel of the White Tower. The workmen had scattered them among the rubbish, but this was sifted, and the bones

Princess Mary

preserved. Charles II., being convinced that they were the bones of **King Edward the Fifth** and his brother, **Richard, Duke of York**, and pitying their cruel fate, caused them to be placed here in 1678.

* Stanley, 156

In the reredos are three statues. That on the left is a bearded **Priest in Armour**, with a scapular pulled over his chasuble, and holding a dragon in leash ; this may represent All Hallows.* In the centre is a **Crowned King**, with sceptre and book. On the right is **St Lawrence** with an open book resting on a gridiron. On looking at the backs of the **Stalls** it will be seen



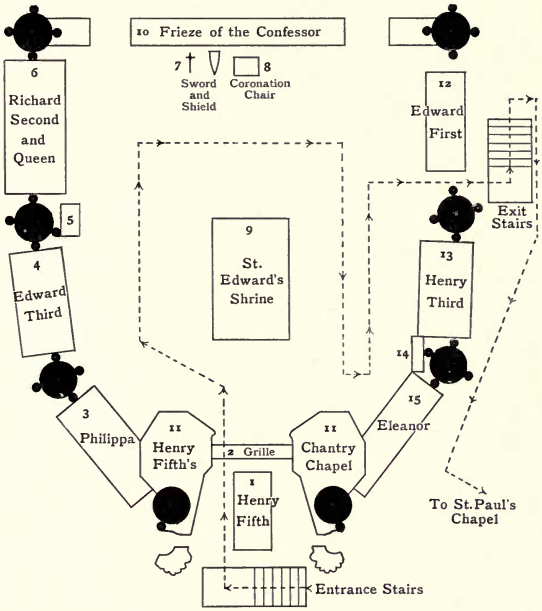
Monument of Queen Elizabeth

that those of the Easternmost bay, the ones with plain backs, are modern ; and that the tabernacles for them have been got by slicing away the back half of some of the original tabernacles. The pivots of the original doorway of the screen still remain.

* *Archaeologia*, xlvii. 484.

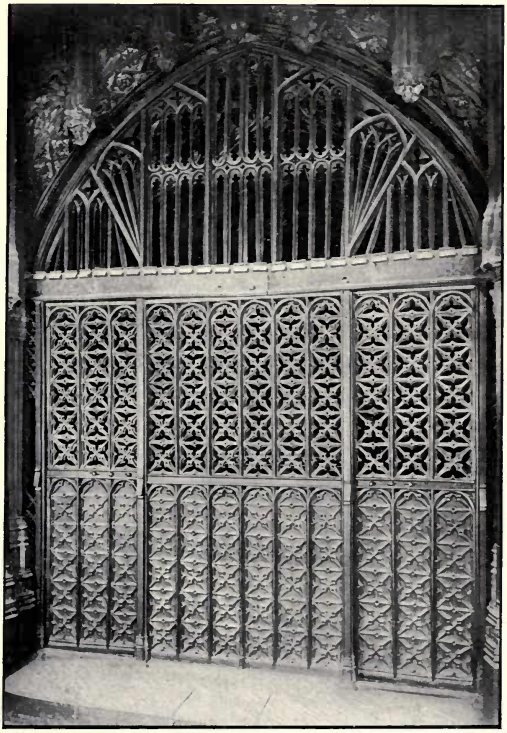
16. St Edward's Chapel or Chapel of the Kings

Leaving Henry VII.'s chapel, we see opposite, on the other side of the Ambulatory, a low flight of wooden steps (231); this leads into the chapel of St Edward the Confessor. In the centre is the shrine of St Edward, encircled by the tombs of the Plantagenet kings and Henry the Fifth—the Holy Place of the

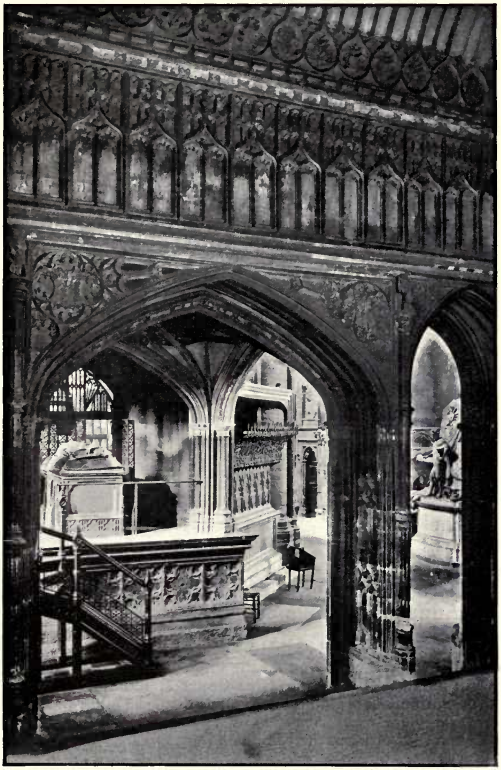


whole English race here and overseas.* (1) On the right, on entering the chapel, is the tomb of that greatest soldier of an "old and haughty nation, proud in arms," **Henry V.**; who, on St Crispin's Day, at Agincourt, with less than 12,000 men, hungry, shoeless, and wayworn, routed a hostile force of 50,000.

* "Ex primitiva fundatione locus iste est regiae consecrationis, regum sepultura, repositoriumque regalium insignium; caput Angliae merito diademaque regni ab antiquo nominatur" (Flete's *History*, 63).



Grille of Henry the Fifth's Tomb



Tomb of Henry the Fifth

The oak effigy once was plated with silver and the head was solid silver; silver plates and silver head were stolen long ago, by "some Whig, I'll warrant you," said that stout Tory, Sir Roger de Coverley. "You ought to lock up your kings better; they'll carry off the body, too, if you don't take care."

2. Notice the **Grille** of contemporary ironwork.

Entering the chapel and turning to the left,

3. The first tomb is that of **Philippa**, d. 1369, queen of Edward III. (49).

She was from the Netherlands, and the tomb and effigy are by Hawkin of Liège, a Flemish sculptor working in Paris in the middle of the fourteenth century. The tomb was originally most rich and costly; round it were thirty "weepers," of which two only, protected by netting, remain. The accounts show that the tomb cost altogether some £3,000.* It is remarkable that instead of having new railings made to protect the tomb, the king bought the railings standing round the tomb of Michael, Bishop of London, outside the West porch of St Paul's Cathedral. These railings were merely plain straight bars, and the fact that Edward paid for them secondhand the great sum of £600 shews what a great achievement of craftsmanship it was considered to be to forge a straight and true bar; an Eleanor grille probably presented much less difficulty. The railings have been removed.

4. Next comes the tomb of **Edward III.**, d. 1377 (243). The face may be modelled from a cast taken after death, though this cannot be so with the bronze "weepers" on the South side of the tomb; the hair and long beard are conventionalised. Above is a wooden canopy of excellent design. On the North and South sides of the tomb is a Latin inscription in rhyming Latin verses.†

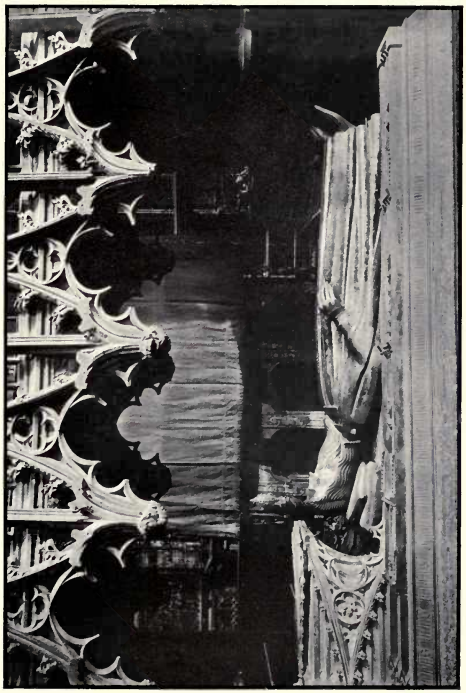
5. To the right is a small monument of an infant daughter of Edward IV., **Margaret of York**; the brass effigy is missing (243).

6. Next comes the magnificent monument erected in 1397 to **Queen Anne of Bohemia** by her loving husband, **Richard II.**

So greatly Richard loved her that he caused the palace at Sheen, where she died, to be pulled down: and on the tomb their effigies were to lie with clasped right hands; "deux Ymages de Coper et Laton endorrez, coronnez, ajonauntz et cloisauntz ensemble lour meyns dextres;" but the effigies were cast in several pieces, and arms, pillows, and other adjuncts have been stolen. Round the border of the tomb is a long inscription in rhyming Latin verses ‡ (235).

In 1399 Richard died at Pontefract, and was buried at King's Langley, Hertfordshire. In 1413 his body was removed

* *Gleanings*, 63 and 170; Lethaby, 251.
† Neale, ii. 103; *Gleanings*, 172; Lethaby, 289, 332.
‡ Neale, 112; *Gleanings*, 175; Lethaby, 215, 279, 289.



Tomb of Edward III

to Westminster by Henry V., and interred in the tomb which Richard had built for his queen and himself.

The horror inspired by his father's loathsome leprosy and sudden death, and his knowledge that on his accession to the throne he would himself be enjoying the fruits of murder, suddenly turned the current of Henry's life, and made him a deeply religious man. In Shakespeare's day the father's guilt and the son's deep contrition were of common belief. At sunrise at Agincourt this was Henry's prayer:

> "O God of battles . . . Not to-day, O Lord!
> Oh! not to-day, think not upon the fault
> My father made in compassing the crown.
> I Richard's body have interred anew,
> And on it have bestowed more contrite tears
> Than from it issued forced drops of blood.
> Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay
> Who twice a day their withered hands hold up
> Toward heaven, to pardon blood; and I have built
> Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
> Sing still for Richard's soul."

7. Facing East, there are seen on the left the **Sword and Shield of State**, said by Dart to have been carried before Edward III. in his French wars (237). The sword is 7 feet 3 inches long, and weighs 18 lb.

Visitors to the Abbey used to be allowed to handle it; Dryden tells

> "How some strong churl would brandishing advance
> The monumental sword that conquered France."

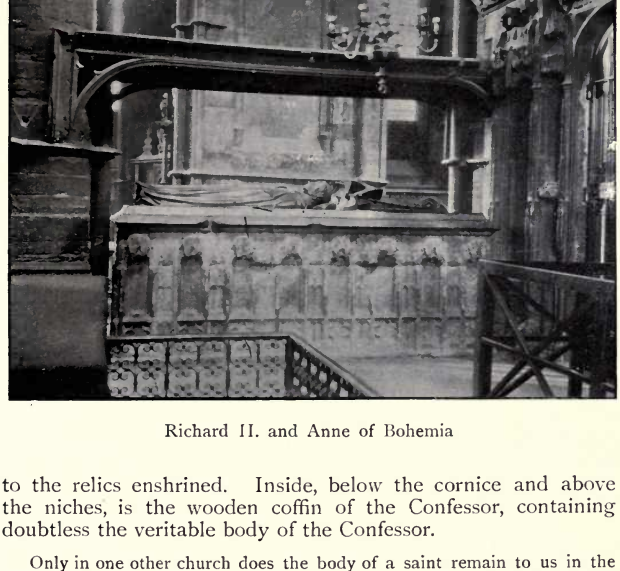
8. Next comes the **Coronation Chair** made for Edward the First to hold the stone of Scone; the crockets and turrets at the back were sawn off in preparation for a coronation; the lions are modern (237).

The stone is that brought from Scone Abbey in Scotland by Edward I. in 1296, where all the Scotch kings had sat on it. There was said to be a couplet engraved on it by King Kenneth, A.D. 840, to the effect that Scots shall reign * wherever this stone be placed; a prophecy disastrously fulfilled by the accession of the Scotch Stuarts to the English throne. There is a rectangular groove on the upper face, to which a metal plate with an inscription may have been affixed. In 1324 Robert Bruce appealed to Edward II. that the stone might be restored to Scotland. Scota, he said, daughter of Pharaoh, had brought it from Egypt, and Moses had promised that victory should follow the stone. It was even thought to be the identical stone on which Jacob's head had rested at Bethel, when he saw angels ascending and descending from heaven. On this very stone Edward I. had himself crowned King of the Scots; and in the chair in which it lies has been crowned every English sovereign since his time. It has never left the Abbey except when it was temporarily removed to Westminster Hall when Oliver Cromwell was installed Protector.†

* "Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."

† *Gleanings*, 121; Lethaby, 265, 297, 369.

9. Now turn and inspect the **Shrine of Saint Edward of Westminster** (23). The pall above it is modern; as also is the altar, which is used at coronations (162). The body of King Edward was translated to this shrine in 1269. It was built for Henry III. by Peter, a citizen of Rome, who also laid the pavement of the chapel; the material is Purbeck marble inlaid with glass mosaic and red slabs of porphyry brought from Italy. Below there are niches, in which those could kneel who desired to gain intercession, perhaps cure of disease, by closer approach



Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia

to the relics enshrined. Inside, below the cornice and above the niches, is the wooden coffin of the Confessor, containing doubtless the veritable body of the Confessor.

Only in one other church does the body of a saint remain to us in the original shrine, viz., that of St White or Candida in the church of Whitchurch Canonicorum, Dorset.* The cornice, the wooden superstructure, and the inscription of the Confessor's shrine are all probably the work of Abbot Feckenham in Queen Mary's reign. Flanking St Edward's altar were

* See the paper by Miss E. K. Prideaux in *Archaeological Journal*, lxiv. 119.

originally two massive twisted columns, one of which supported a statue of the Pilgrim, St John Evangelist, the other of the Confessor holding up the ring. Professor Lethaby estimates that the shrine cost Henry III. in all from £60,000 to £80,000 of our money. The wooden shrine which contained the coffin was destroyed by Henry VIII. in 1538, and the present pedestal was pulled down and the Confessor was buried beneath. In 1554 Queen Mary had the pedestal re-erected (it will be seen that some of its slabs are not in their proper position), and the Saint's coffin was placed within the upper part of the pedestal once more. In removing the scaffolding after the coronation of James II., it was noticed that the coffin was broken. The head of the king could be seen, "firm and whole," and the jaws full of teeth. Mr Henry Keepe writes that he put in his hand, and in turning the bones over, drew from under the shoulder bones a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled and a gold chain of twenty-four inches long; both were of unalloyed gold. Mr Keepe showed them to the archbishops, "who look'd upon them as great pieces of antiquity"; and was introduced by the Dean of Westminster to the king, who was graciously pleased to accept them. It is said that the Faversham fishermen stole the crucifix and chain from James in his hurried flight from England in 1688; if so, they may still survive somewhere. James had the damaged coffin enclosed in a new one of planks two inches thick, banded with iron, wherein they still lie.*

In 1221, Henry, nephew of King Henry III., was assassinated by the son of Simon de Montfort at Viterbo Cathedral at the Elevation of the Host. The heart of the murdered man was enclosed in a gilt cup and sent to England, where it stood near St Edward's shrine. Dante, in the *Inferno*, places the murderer up to his chin in a river of blood, and tells how the centaur who guided Virgil and himself pointed out a solitary shade, saying, "This one struck in God's bosom the heart which still is honoured on the Thames."†

10. Turning round, above the Coronation Chair is seen the back of the **Reredos of the High Altar**; it is probably of the time of Edward IV. Facing the shrine, it gives a running series of representations in stone of the legends connected with the life of the Confessor (237).

The stone has perished so greatly that it is difficult to recognise the subjects. Beginning at the left they are as follows:—

1. The nobles, with right hands uplifted, swear fealty to the unborn babe of Queen Emma.

2. The birth of the Confessor at Islip; in the foreground is Queen Emma in a state bed; behind, two attendants hold the babe.

3. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York crown Edward King.

4. King Ethelred, father of the Confessor, imposed the Danegelt, or Danes' gold, to bribe the Danes to quit the kingdom. In the Confessor's reign the tax was still levied, and the money was stored up in barrels. The Confessor one day in a vision saw a devil dancing on the barrels, and was so horrified that he declined to retain a single penny, and ordered the money to be returned to the owners, and the tax to be remitted for the rest of his reign. The figure of the devil has been destroyed.

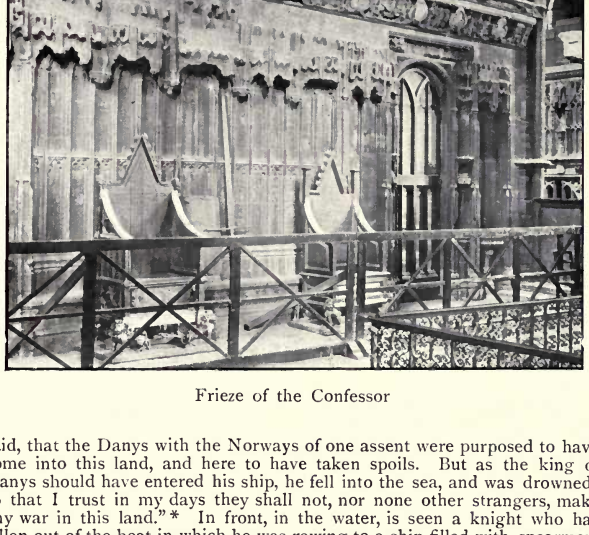
5. While the king was in bed, he thrice saw a young thief lift the lid of a treasure chest and carry off money. The last time he warned the thief to

* Neale, 71; *Gleanings*, 58, 127; Lethaby, 293, 319; Stanley, 28, 110.
† *Inferno*, xii. 115.

be off, lest the Chamberlain should catch him. When the Chamberlain did arrive, Edward refused to allow him to pursue the thief; "perhaps he that has taken it hath more need of it than we."

6. One day, while the king knelt at the Mass, Our Lord appeared unto him, standing on the altar in human form; which thing also Leofric, Earl of Chester, beheld. On the left is seen the king kneeling at a faldstool; on the right is the celebrant, now headless; further to the right is the chalice on the altar; at the back is the chapel screen.

7. "The legend of his life in the church telleth that, he being at mass in the church of Westminster upon a Whitsunday, in the time of the elevation of the sacrement he laughed; whereof the lords about him mervailled greatly, and after required of him the cause; whereunto he answered and



Frieze of the Confessor

said, that the Danys with the Norways of one assent were purposed to have come into this land, and here to have taken spoils. But as the king of Danys should have entered his ship, he fell into the sea, and was drowned; so that I trust in my days they shall not, nor none other strangers, make any war in this land."* In front, in the water, is seen a knight who has fallen out of the boat in which he was rowing to a ship filled with spearmen.

8. One day, at dinner, the king drank to the health of Harold, the younger son of Earl Godwin. Whereupon Tosti, the elder brother, seized Harold by the hair and flung him down. But Harold recovered his feet "and laid mighty blows upon his brother, so that the king himself was fain to put to his hand and to part them." The two boys are seen in front of a table, at which the king tells Queen Editha and Earl Godwin the evil end

* Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 225.

that awaits them. Tosti was slain at Stamford Bridge in September 1066, and a few days later Harold perished at Hastings.

9. Seven Christians of Ephesus took refuge from persecution in a cave, *circa* A.D. 250, and beseeching the Lord for succour, they fell asleep. In 479 they were found still sleeping. And "even to this day," says Gregory of Tours, "they are sleeping in the very same place, clothed in short cloaks made of silk or fine flax." One day, after partaking of the Eucharist, Edward the king beheld in a vision the city of Ephesus and Mount Celion, and there he espied the proper countenances, the size of the limbs, and the quality of the clothes of seven holy sleepers resting in a cave; when, behold, they turned themselves from the right side to the left; and it was revealed to him that they should lie on their left sides for seventy years, during which years the Lord would deliver His people into the hands of nations who were their enemies, to reign over them; which things portended that Normans should rule England. To test the truth of the vision, three mounted messengers rode forth to the cave, and there found the seven sleepers, lying on their left sides as the king had related; this last scene is the one selected for representation.

10. The next scene takes place in front of Westminster Abbey, which is shown in the background. In front the king is giving his ring to the Pilgrim.

11. In the background the king washes his hands in a laver. In front, on the right, an attendant, believing that the water is hallowed by the Confessor's touch, presents it in the basin to four blind men, and, making on them the sign of the Cross, straightway their sight is restored to them.

12. St John Evangelist delivers the ring and message to two pilgrims in Palestine.

13. The two pilgrims find the king at table in his palace of Havering-atte-Bower, Essex, and deliver the ring and the message.

14. In the last tableau is seen the transept and quire of Westminster Abbey. The figures may perhaps be St Peter and Edric the fisherman, and the scene may refer to the miraculous consecration of the church by the apostle in A.D. 616.

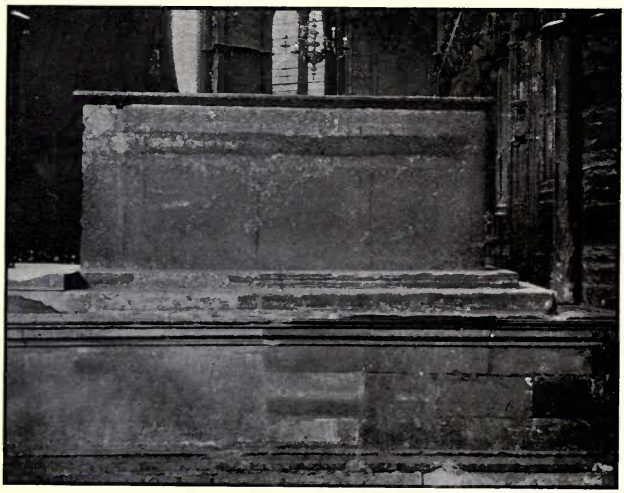
The whole chapel was paved by Peter the Roman; but while that of the sanctuary is **Opus Alexandrinum** proper, being a mosaic pure and simple, that of the former consists merely of mosaic patterns inserted into grooves and orifices cut in square slabs of Purbeck marble. A portion of it may be seen in front of the Coronation Chair (244).

11. Now turn and look Eastward. High up, above and beyond the shrine, is seen **Henry the Fifth's Chapel**, profusely covered with sculpture, two turrets giving access to it by spiral staircases. (These are worn and unsafe, and the interior of the chapel is rarely shown.) It is above the tomb of Henry V., and is the chantry chapel where three monks were each to say a mass daily for the repose of his soul at the altar of the Annunciation therein (49). High up on a beam are seen his shield, helmet, and saddle. In the chapel is buried Katherine of France.

Shakespeare tells the pretty tale of Henry's courtship; so fair a princess was she that Henry vowed to the Duke of Burgundy that "he would either

Henry the Fifth

enjoy the Lady Katherine, or drive the King of France out of his kingdom, and the Duke out of his dukedom." After Henry's death she married Owen Tudor, "the most beautiful personage of that age." Henry the Seventh was the son of their son Edmund, Earl of Richmond. On her death, Henry's grandmother was buried, as he says in his will, in the Lady Chapel of 1220. Her body was taken up when Henry's own Lady Chapel was begun in 1502, and, wrapped in a sheet of lead from the roof, was temporarily placed by the side of the tomb of her husband, Henry V., with the intent no doubt of reinterring it in the new Lady Chapel. But that was nobody's business, and there it remained for 274 years. The poor corpse was to be seen, visible from the waist upwards, "the bones firmly united, and thinly covered

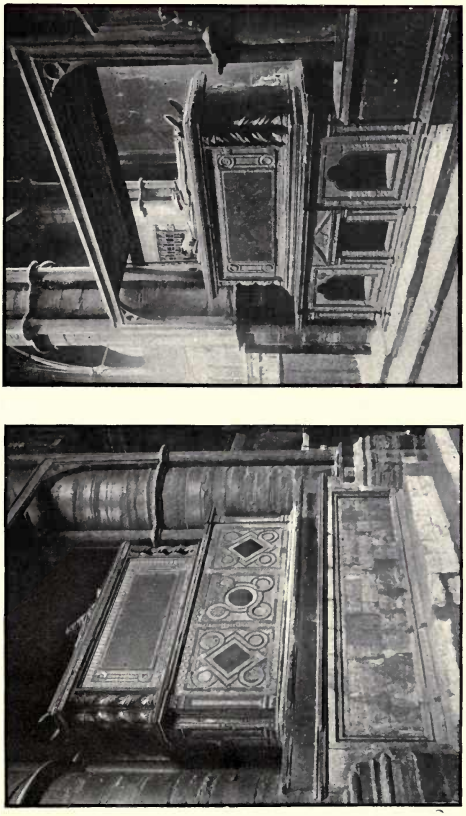


Tomb of Edward I

with flesh like scrapings of tanned leather." That insatiable sightseer, Pepys, "saw, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois, and I did have the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth." In 1776 she was buried once more, this time in St Nicholas' Chapel. In 1878 the body was removed by Dean Stanley, and reburied beneath the altar of the Annunciation in her husband's chantry chapel.

12. Now we come to the tomb of **Edward the First**; the first on the North side of the chapel. It is a large plain black tomb.

The plainness of the tomb is the more remarkable when one sees the



Tomb of Henry the Third

sumptuousness of the monuments which Edward erected himself hard by to his father, Henry III., and his queen, Eleanor. It may be due to the neglect of his son, who provided but a mean funeral ("his exequuy was scantly fynnysshed," says Fabyan), but it may be that it was in accordance with the "pact" which Edward, when dying, required of his son, that his bones should be carried at the head of the English army till Scotland should be conquered. This may explain the force of the inscription placed or replaced on the tomb by Abbot Feckenham in the time of Queen Mary: PACTVM SERVA, "keep thy pact, my son." It is at any rate a certain as well as a strange fact, that till the deposition of the last of the Plantagenets, Richard II., warrants occur regularly for expenses incurred "de cera renovanda circum corpus regis Edwardi primi." This can only mean that the fine waxed cloth which was closely wrapped round the body was regularly renewed to preserve it against the day when the plain tomb should be opened and the old king should set forth once more against his enemies, the Scots. The tomb was opened in 1778, and in it was found the body of the king, 6 feet 2 inches long; "the innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body; and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness that the thumbs and fingers of both the hands had, each of them, a separate and distinct envelope of that material."*

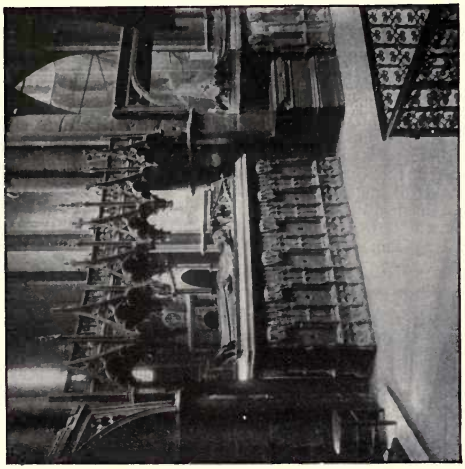
13. Next to the tomb of Edward I., and North of the Confessor's shrine, is the tomb of **Henry III.** Like the shrine, it is two stories high, and is of Italian design and workmanship, and is composed of red slabs of porphyry and of mosaics of serpentine and marble. The slabs of porphyry were brought from the East by Edward I. on his return from the Holy Land.

At the bottom are recesses for reliquaries, which formerly were protected by gratings in front. In a shaft of the column to the West of the tomb, near the king's head, is a small niche, apparently cut to hold some relic, which might be protected by a sheet of glass. On the tomb is the effigy of the king, of gilded bronze; not a portrait, but showing him as a comparatively young man. On his death in 1272 he was buried under the central tower in the very grave which had been occupied by St Edward. In 1291 Henry's heart, in accordance with his instructions, was solemnly handed over to the Abbess of Fontevrault, who came over to London for the purpose, and was deposited by her in her abbey church, where were and are buried Henry's uncle, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Henry's grandfather and grandmother, Henry II. and Eleanor. It was also in this year probably that Henry III.'s body was removed from the grave under the central tower to the new mosaic tomb in St Edward's Chapel.

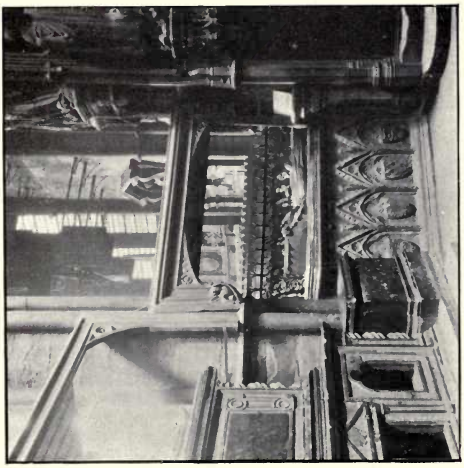
14. East of Henry's tomb is a small tomb of black and grey marble of **Princess Elizabeth**, daughter of Henry VII., who died in 1495, aged three years. The gilt bronze effigy is missing (243).

15. In the corner, on the left, is the tomb of **Queen Eleanor** of Castile, wife of Edward I., who died in 1290 at Hardeby, Nottinghamshire (243).

* *Archaeologia*, vol. iii.

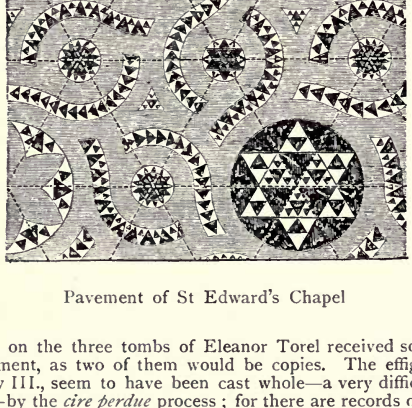


Tomb of Edward III



Tomb of Queen Eleanor

The famous Eleanor Crosses at Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Dunstable, St Albans, Waltham, and Charing were erected to her memory at those places on the road where her remains rested; those at Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham still survive. As was usual on the death of a great personage, the viscera were removed; these were buried in a vase in Lincoln Minster, under the great East window; her tomb there was destroyed by the Parliamentarians, but has recently been re-erected from Dugdale's drawings. The heart was given to the Blackfriars Church in London, where an "angel was made to hold the heart of the Queen." The body was embalmed and brought to Westminster. It is noteworthy that while Henry III.'s adjacent tomb, which was not finished till 1291, is Italian in design and craftsmanship, that of Eleanor is wholly of English Gothic. Torel, who made the effigies of both, was an Englishman, "a goldsmith and citizen of London."* For the



Pavement of St Edward's Chapel

three statues on the three tombs of Eleanor Torel received some £1,700; not bad payment, as two of them would be copies. The effigies, as also that of Henry III., seem to have been cast whole—a very difficult business at that time—by the *cire perdue* process; for there are records of more than 726 lb. of wax being carried from Torel's house to Westminster.† Eleanor's effigy, like that of Henry III., is idealised; for she is represented as young, whereas she was over forty at her death. These two effigies, says Professor Lethaby, are "the most beautiful Gothic sculptures in the church or in England; indeed, of the effigy of Alianor especially, it may be questioned from the concurrence of three accidents—the subject, a beautiful queen; the moment, the very apogee of Gothic art; and the noble material, gilt bronze — whether all Europe can show such another" (21). The original tester has disappeared; probably removed and replaced by the present canopy when Henry V.'s chantry chapel was erected; the staircases of the chapel cut into the tombs both of Eleanor and Philippa.

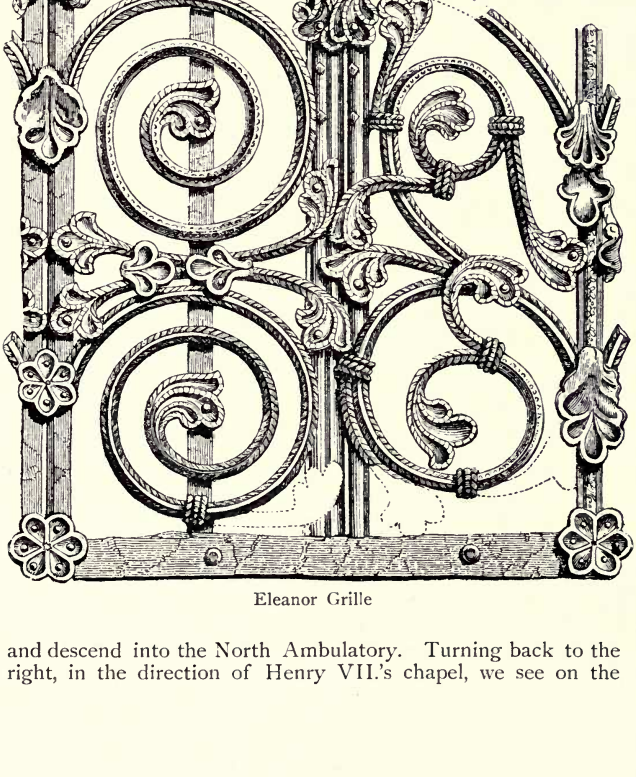
* *Gleanings*, 153. † *Gleanings*, 154.

The large statue over the North doorway of Henry V.'s chapel probably represents the Pilgrim, that over the South doorway the Confessor (49).

Underneath our feet, between the tomb of Henry III. and St Edward's shrine, is buried Edward's **Queen, Edith**, d. 1075, daughter of Earl Godwin. On the South side of the shrine is buried another **Queen, Maud**, d. 1118, whose marriage with Henry I. united the Saxon and Norman dynasties.

17. North Ambulatory

Now we retrace our steps and leave St Edward's chapel by the wooden stairs between the tombs of Henry III. and Edward I.,



Eleanor Grille

and descend into the North Ambulatory. Turning back to the right, in the direction of Henry VII.'s chapel, we see on the

right, first the back of the tomb of **Henry III.** with its slabs of red porphyry and green serpentine; and then the remains of the iron grille protecting the tomb of **Queen Eleanor**, the finest piece of blacksmithing in England (69).

It is the work of Thomas of Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, where he made the existing hinges on the church door, as well as those at Eaton Bray and Turvey, and others elsewhere. If the work is examined closely, it will be seen that several of the ornaments, *e.g.*, the rosettes, are precisely the same; this could not be so, if they were forged work; each must have been stamped separately, like medals, in a die. In all the examples in England, "the work is formed of easy scrolls, flowing one from the other, and rarely completing a second whorl; the leaves springing from these grow invariably from the outer edge only of the curve; nothing but the vine is used, and the stamps consist solely of the asymmetrical thirteenth-century leaf, a trefoil, a bunch of grapes, and a few sizes of rosettes; the same dragon's heads are introduced in all, and the collars or fastenings are alike." The process is a French one, and work remains at St Denis much resembling that at Westminster. Thomas Leighton probably learnt the secret in France; in this country he was the only smith who understood the process, and the secret died with him. The Eleanor grille cost some £200.*

High up, in front of us, is seen the North side of Henry V.'s chantry chapel, in the centre of which is represented his **Coronation** as King of England.

Opposite Queen Eleanor's tomb is the doorway leading into the chapel of St Paul.

18. Chapel of St Paul

1. This chapel and everything in the neighbourhood, is utterly dwarfed by an enormous statue of **James Watt**, who made some improvements in the steam engine; it should be carted off to the Embankment, where it would be in scale with the Shot Tower and the Cecil Hotel.

2. Near it, in the centre of the chapel, is the monument of **Sir Giles Daubeny**, d. 1507, and his wife; the palisades are modern reproductions. He wears plate armour, with his head resting on a helmet crested with a holly tree, and has the full insignia of the Order of the Garter.

The following is the order of the chief monuments on the walls, beginning at the West corner, right of the doorway:—

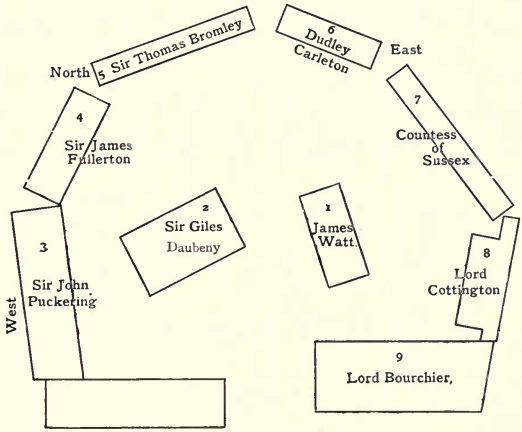
3. First comes the noble Jacobean monument of **Sir John Puckering**, d. 1596, and his Lady; below kneel three sons and five daughters, two of whom hold skulls; perhaps children who had died.

* J. Starkie Gardner, *Ironwork*, i. 83, and *Gleanings*, 87.

4. To the right of this is the Jacobean monument of **Sir James Fullerton**, d. 1630, who lies, as usual, on a higher shelf than his lady, proclaiming in death his adhesion to the doctrine of marital superiority. His epitaph says that he was "fuller of faith than fear; fuller of resolution than of pains; fuller of honour than of days."

5. Next comes the Elizabethan monument of **Sir Thomas Bromley**, d. 1587. Below kneel four sons and four daughters.

6. Next is another Jacobean monument, but more classic in design, by Nicholas Stone, to Dudley Carleton, **Viscount Dorchester**, d. 1631.



St Paul's Chapel

7. Then comes a stately Elizabethan monument to Frances, **Countess of Sussex**: she was a Sidney, and founded Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. At her feet is a porcupine in wood, the family crest.

Her epitaph is worth quoting in part: "Here lieth the most Honourable Lady Frances, sometime Countess of Sussex, Daughter of William Sidney of Penshurst, Knight, Wife and Widow to the most noble, most wise, and most martial gentleman, Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex. A Woman, while she lived, adorned with many and most rare gifts both of mind and body. Towards God truly and zealously religious; to her Friends and Kinsfolk most liberal; to the Poor, to Prisoners, and to the Ministers of the Word of God, most charitable."

8. High up is a bust in copper gilt of **Lady Cottington**, d. 1633. Below is the monument, with alabaster effigy, of **Lord Cottington**; erected in 1679.

9. On the left of the doorway is part of the original stone screen of the chapel, with which the Gothic monument of Lodowick Robsert, **Lord Bourchier**, d. 1431, once richly coloured and gilt, is connected by flying buttresses. Notice the

Lord Bourchier

great standards held by the lion and eagle; he was standard-bearer to King Henry V.; the poles of them are made to form parts of the buttresses.

High up are the banners of an ancient family of Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, whose ancestor carried the standard at the battle of Hastings. The body of the last of the Delavals, Lady Tyrconnel, was borne in feudal pomp from Northumberland to Westminster in 1800 (243).

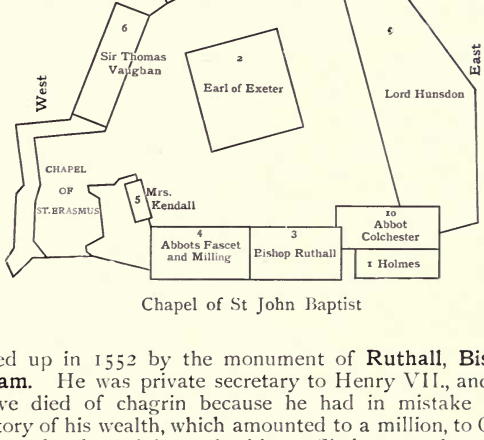
19. Chapel of St John Baptist

1. Before entering the next chapel notice the monument of **Admiral Holmes** with his ship carronades; he died in 1761 (251).

2. In the centre of the chapel is the table tomb of the **Earl of Exeter**, d. 1662; of his two wives one lies beside him; the second declined the honour.

The following is the order of the principal memorials on the walls from left to right, beginning at the middle of the side adjoining the Ambulatory.

3. There used to be a doorway in the centre, but this was



Chapel of St John Baptist

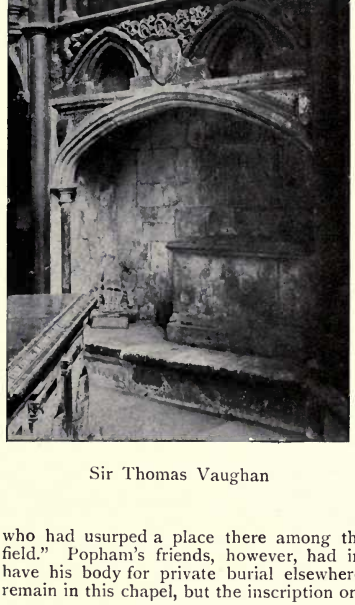
blocked up in 1552 by the monument of **Ruthall, Bishop of Durham.** He was private secretary to Henry VII., and is said to have died of chagrin because he had in mistake sent an inventory of his wealth, which amounted to a million, to Cardinal Wolsey, who showed it to the king. Shakespeare has used the incident in his play of *Henry VIII.*, but has applied it to Wolsey, and made it one of the causes of his fall.

4. To the right is the Gothic monument, with canopy, of **George Fascet**, who was Abbot of Westminster from 1498 to 1500: his initials are on the frieze; the original iron grating remains. **Milling**, who was Abbot from 1469 to 1474, when he became Bishop of Hereford, was buried in this chapel in 1492;

his stone coffin, on which is sculptured the cross fleury of Hereford, has been dug up and placed on Abbot Fascet's tomb (68).

5. In the corner is the pretty smiling face of **Mrs Mary Kendall**, d. 1709.

"She had great virtues, and as great a desire of concealing them; was of a severe life, but of an easy conversation; courteous to all, yet strictly sincere; humble, without meanness; beneficent without ostentation; devout, without superstition. These admirable Quality's, in which she was equall'd by few of her sex, surpass'd by none, render'd her every way worthy of that close union and friendship, in which she liv'd with the Lady Catherine Jones."



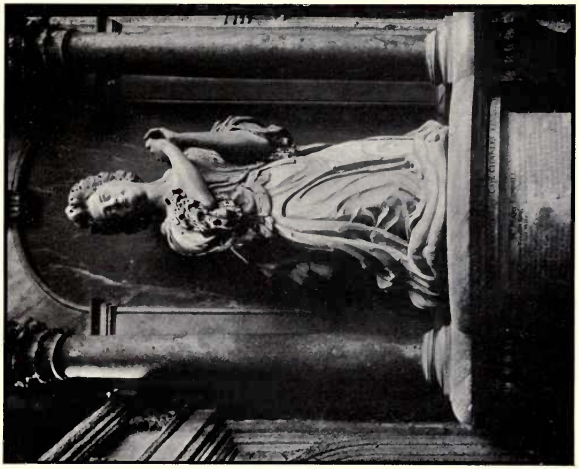
Sir Thomas Vaughan

6. In a recess to the right of the doorway is the Gothic table tomb of Purbeck marble, with recess for a chantry priest, of **Sir Thomas Vaughan**, executed 1483. On the slab is an interesting small brass. Above, some of the original scroll work of the arcading remains.

7. To the right of it stand **Colonel Popham**, d. 1651, and his wife, leaning in an affected posture on a pedestal.

He was "one of the Parliament Generals at sea," and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel; but, "at the Restauration the poisonous inhabitants, who had usurped a place there among the kings, were cast out into the field." Popham's friends, however, had influence, and were permitted to have his body for private burial elsewhere; and his tomb was allowed to remain in this chapel, but the inscription on it was effaced.

8. Right of this is a simple thirteenth-century monument in Purbeck marble, with trefoiled arcading, removed from elsewhere; it is something like that of William de Valence in St Edmund's chapel; possibly it contains the bodies of two grandchildren of Edward I., **Hugh and Mary Bohun** (252).



Mrs Kendall

Admiral Holmes

9. Then comes a colossal monument to **Lord Hunsdon**, d. 1598, first cousin and chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth.

10. Between the chapel and the Ambulatory is the table tomb of **Abbot Colchester**, 1386-1420, with an effigy in Eucharistic vestments, once richly coloured.

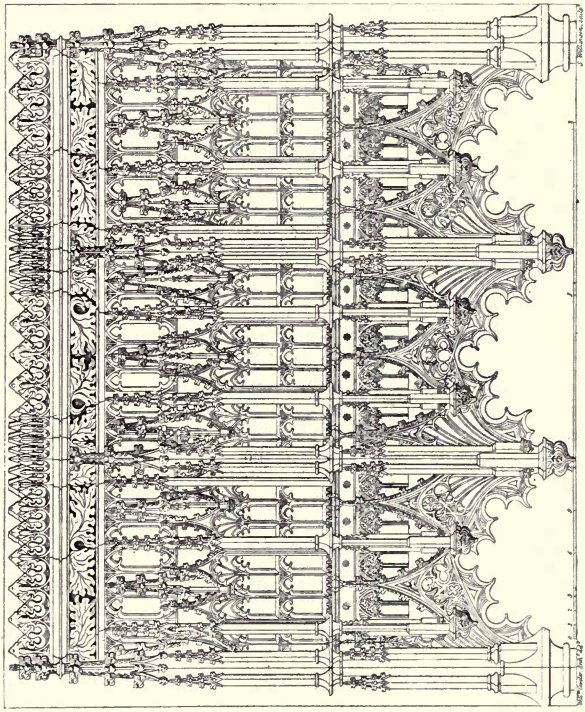
Hugh and Mary de Bohun

20. Chapel of St Erasmus.

We leave the chapel of St John Baptist by a dark passage with a curious history. Originally there was no exit here, but an altar stood where the inner doorway now is.

The chapel of St Erasmus was a little cavernous chapel scooped out of the huge buttress between the radiating and the square chapel. On the left of the end recess was painted the White Hart of Richard II., which fixes the date of the chapel. On the boss of the vault is carved the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin ; it is probable, therefore, that this is the chapel spoken of as that of St Mary the Little, *i.e.*, the Little chapel of St Mary as opposed to the great Lady Chapel of 1220, and the old altar of St Mary in the nave.* On the right, *i.e.*, the South, of the altar, now the doorway, is a recess in the wall which contained the piscina. In the recess at the end is a stone bracket which would support a statue of St Mary ; at the back are the remains of a painted aureole. In the centre of the West wall, rather high up, is a squint which would give a view of the altar and statue to any one who was in the chancel of the chapel of St John Evangelist (Islip's chapel was not built till later). Left of the squint, lower down, is an eyed bolt to which a lamp could be attached. In the vault is a hole through which a chain passed, from which hung a lamp in front of the statue. The doors, with their ironwork, are original. This arrangement probably lasted from

* This may be the chapel referred to by Froissart in describing the visit of Richard II. to the abbey in 1381. "In this church (of Westminster) there is a statue of Our Lady in a small chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles, in which the kings of England have much faith. The king paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine" (*An Unrecognised Westminster Chronicle*, 7).

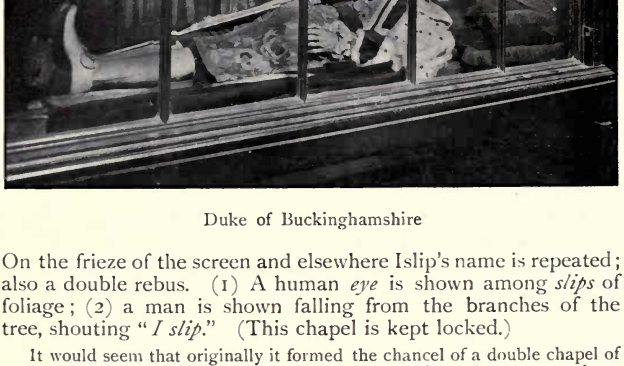


Canopy of St Erasmus

c. 1390 to *c.* 1502. In this latter year Henry VII. commenced the new Lady Chapel, and in so doing demolished a chapel of St Erasmus, which had been built on to the Lady Chapel of 1220 by Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV. (1461-83). Therefore, in compensation, the chapel of St Mary the Little would seem to have been appropriated to St Erasmus; his name was inscribed in gilt letters over the entrance, as may still be seen, and above it Abbot Islip reset a lovely niche, which originally contained a statue of St Erasmus (253). As for St Mary the Little, it would appear from entries in Camden and Stow, that either she was awarded a new altar in the chapel of St John Baptist, or that the old altar there received a double dedication, viz., to St John Baptist and St Mary the Little. Then came a third stage in the story. In 1523 the central entrance into St John Baptist's chapel was blocked up with Bishop Routall's tomb. The result was that St Erasmus' altar had to be removed, and was replaced by the present doorway; and what had been a chapel became merely a passage. As for St Erasmus, his altar seems to have been transferred to the Islip chapel, which is spoken of by Weever and other old writers as that of St Erasmus.* This is borne out by the fact that one of the careful drawings in the Islip roll shows *two* altars in the lower Islip chapel; one to the East, which would be a Jesus altar; the other beneath the window, which we may assign to St Erasmus.

21. Islip Chapel

Immediately to the West of St Erasmus' chapel is that of **John Islip**, who was Abbot of Westminster from 1500 to 1532.

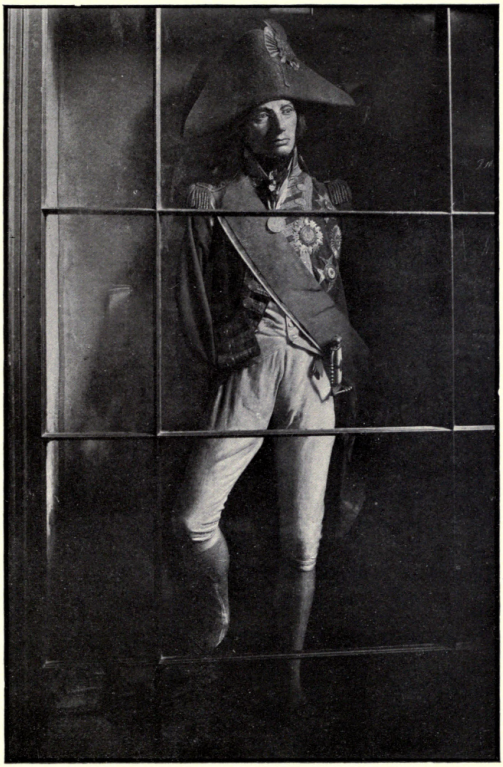


Duke of Buckinghamshire

On the frieze of the screen and elsewhere Islip's name is repeated; also a double rebus. (1) A human *eye* is shown among *slips* of foliage; (2) a man is shown falling from the branches of the tree, shouting "*I slip.*" (This chapel is kept locked.)

It would seem that originally it formed the chancel of a double chapel of St John Evangelist; and that Islip walled this off, built a new screen, and put

* Lethaby, 340, 343, 345, 351, 354; Neale, 186.



Nelson

Queen Elizabeth

King Charles the Second

a floor across, thus getting an upper and a lower chapel; in each of which there was a Jesus altar. In the upper chapel there was an organ;* and as this chapel is open to the Ambulatory except for a parapet, the "Jesus anthem,"† which it was usual to sing after compline on Friday nights, would be well heard in the church. Islip was buried in the centre of the lower chapel. The tomb consisted of two slabs of black marble; the upper one supported by iron columns. On the lower one was the effigy of the abbot. Dart says that it was an emaciated skeleton in a shroud, as was common at this period, *e.g.*, that ascribed to Abbot Wakeman, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury. It is true that the Islip roll shows an effigy of Islip in Eucharistic vestments, but the roll was written immediately on Islip's death before any effigy at all could have existed.‡ The abbot's tomb originally stood in the centre of the chapel; it now stands in front of the window, but the skeleton effigy below no longer exists. It is curious to notice the gradual rise in life, so to speak, of the Westminster abbots; at first they were content to be buried in the cloister, covered with a simple incised slab; next an effigy in low relief is carved on the slab; then the slab enters the church; then it is elevated on a table tomb; finally, Islip provides for himself both a mausoleum and a chantry chapel, after the manner of great Harry the Fifth.

To visit the upper chapel an additional charge is made, and visitors are shewn round by a verger. Here are kept in glass cases the best preserved of the **Wax Effigies**.§

The original custom was, when a sovereign died, that the embalmed body itself, in regal attire, should be carried, uncoffined, at the funeral. In troubled times it was no doubt important to convince people that the sovereign had really died, lest pretenders should arise, as did Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Simnel against Henry VII. Later, instead of the actual body, an effigy in royal attire was carried in procession. At first these effigies were of wood, with faces and hands of plaster painted; several of the so-called **"Ragged Regiment"** have been lately placed in glass cases in the Museum (292). Later they were made of stuff, with wax faces and hands. Sometimes they were left standing near the monument of the deceased. The effigies collected in Islip's upper chapel are those of Queen Elizabeth (remade in 1760), Charles II., General Monk, William III. and Mary, Queen Anne, the Duchess of Buckinghamshire (d. 1742), and her little boy, the young Duke of Buckinghamshire (d. 1735), the Duchess of Richmond (d. 1702) and her parrot, Lord Chatham, and Nelson. The two last were made by the vergers in the eighteenth century to attract more visitors; that of Nelson is dressed in the clothes, with the exception of the coat, which he actually wore.

* *Church Quarterly Review*, lxiv. 75.

† See Canon Fowler's edition of the *Rites of Durham*, 34, 220, 221, 222.

‡ It was customary on the death of an abbot to send round to other monasteries an announcement of the fact. In later days this took the form of an illuminated roll. That recording the death of Abbot Islip in 1532 contains some masterly drawings. The one illustrated (263) shews the Rood above the reredos. The latter has two doors, as at present. On the reredos is a platform, in front of which stand St Peter and St Paul. Above is a tester, which shelters both the platform and the High altar below. From the tester is suspended the Pyx containing the Reserved Host. At the back of the platform is what looks like the reredos of an altar. High up is the Rood with a Mary and John, flanked by cherubim standing on wheels. On the left is seen the monument of Edmund Crouchback.

§ Stanley, 321; *Archaeologia*, lx. 517-70.

Abbot Esteney

Sir John Harpedon

17. North Ambulatory

1. Opposite the Islip chapel is the back of the tomb of **Edmund Crouchback** (page 262); note the "weepers" on it; and (2) the still more delicate statuettes on the back of the next tomb, that of **Aymer de Valence**.

3. In front of the latter is a fine brass of **Sir John Harpedon**, d. 1457. It is of the Lancastrian type before the addition of fresh pieces of exaggerated size and strange shapes in the Yorkist period (259).

It is plain and serviceable, and completely of plate. On the head of the knight is a rather low *bascinet*, with a *gorget* or throat-piece. On his armpits are *epaulières* or epaulets; from the breastplate to the middle of the thighs hang several *taces* or plates overlapping upwards. The elbows are protected by elbow-plates, the wrists and hands by cuffs and *gauntlets*, the knees by *genouillières*. The belt or *bawdric* hangs diagonally; the sword is worn on the left, and on the right the *anelace* or *misericorde*, the dagger of "mercy," which was employed to put a wounded foe out of his misery.

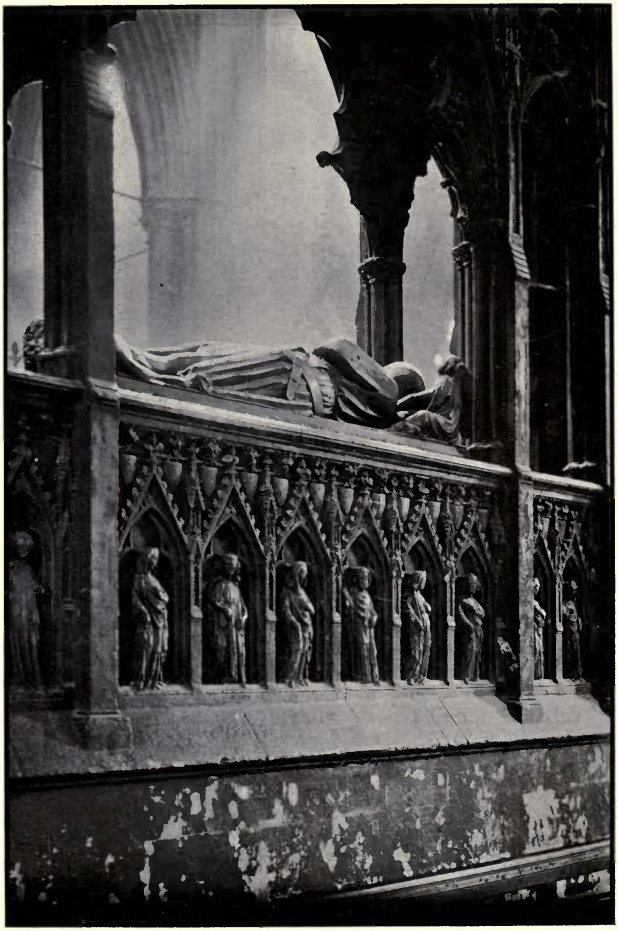
4. On the opposite side of the Ambulatory is the brass of **Abbot Esteney**, d. 1498, who is said to have finished the vaulting of the nave. Both these brasses were originally on high table tombs, and formed the southern screen of the Chapel of St John Evangelist; that of Esteney had a canopy over it.

Esteney's fine brass should be compared with the brass of Archbishop Waldeby in St Edmund's chapel, described on page 183, and with the effigies of Cardinal Langham in St Benedict's chapel and of Abbot Colchester in the chapel of St John Baptist. Not being an archbishop, Esteney has no pallium, and holds a pastoral crook or crozier and not a cross; but being a mitred abbot, he was entitled to episcopal vestments, and so has the *mitra pretiosa*, gloves, ring, and sandals. As a priest he wears the chasuble of the celebrant at the Mass; and he has the dalmatic of a deacon. Waldeby's chasuble is plain, but Esteney's is richly embroidered. From his mouth issues a scroll: "*Exultabo in Domino Jhesu meo.*"

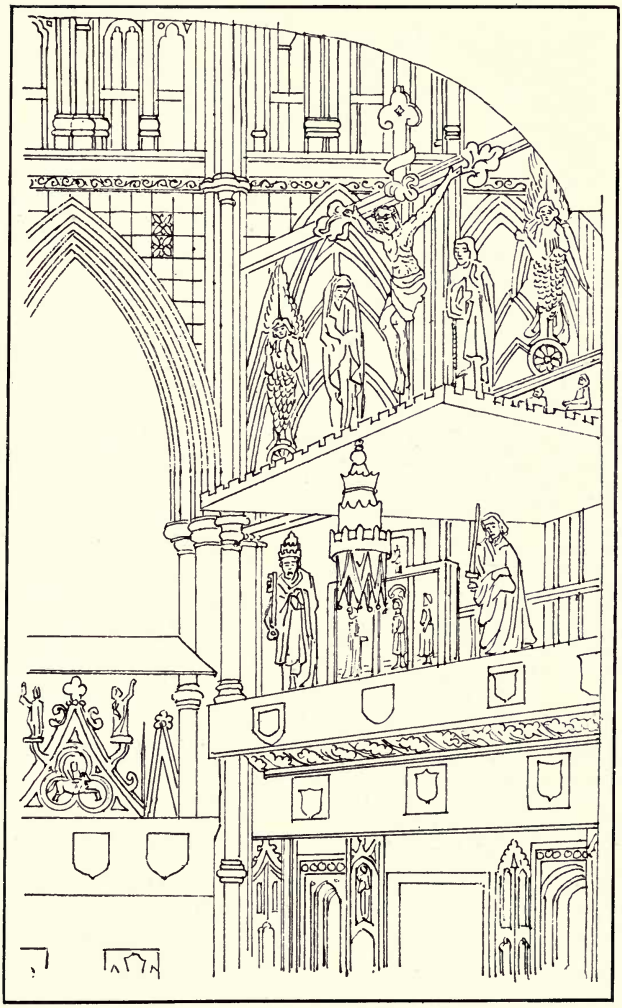
5. The two brasses were removed to make room for an execrable monument of **Wolfe**, erected in 1772, which, however, was greatly admired at the time of its erection. Its sculptor, Wilton, "carved Wolfe's figure without clothes to display his anatomical knowledge." *

* Stanley, 237.

Weepers on Aymer de Valence's Tomb



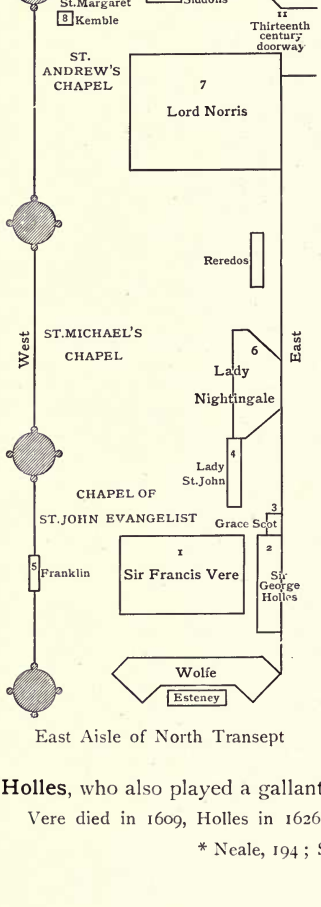
Edmund Crouchback



The Reredos in 1532 (Islip Roll)

22. Chapel of St John Evangelist

We now pass round Wolfe's monument into the eastern aisle of the North transept, round which formerly were screens separating it from the transept, as well as two walls or screens dividing it up into three chapels; parts of the ends of these remain. Each chapel had a doorway into the transept through its western screen. The first is the Chapel of St John Evangelist.



East Aisle of North Transept

1. This contains one of the very noblest tombs in the church, that of **Sir Francis Vere**, of a design common abroad, but not in England; a very similar tomb remains at Breda.

"The battle of Nieuport in the Netherlands was entirely gained through the advice and desperate courage of this gentleman, who resolutely began the fight with his small band of 1,500 English against the whole force of the Spaniards, and ensured the victory by his skill and bravery, though not without the loss of 800 of his men." He has doffed his armour, his warfare o'er, and dreams of troubled fights no more. Four of his brave companions-in-arms bear the armour, as they did on his funeral day. "The sculptor, Roubiliac, was found with folded arms and eyes riveted on one of the knights, whose lips seem just opening to address the bystander; 'Hush, hush,' he whispered, 'he vill speak presently.'" *

2. On the East wall is the monument of **Sir George Holles**, who also played a gallant part at Nieuport.

Vere died in 1609, Holles in 1626. It is worth while to compare the

* Neale, 194; Stanley, 191.

From the Tomb of Sir Francis Vere

Lady St John

Lady Nightingale

Franklin

two monuments; Vere's monument is in the style of the Early Teutonic Renaissance, still instinct with much of the genius and splendour of Gothic art; on that of Holles is the first statue in the Abbey that stands erect; the first that wears, not the costume of the time, but that of a Roman general, standing on a pedestal flanked by "whimpering figures of Bellona and Pallas."

3. Behind and above Holles' statue, remains much of the sculptured parapet of Abbot Islip's upper **Jesus Chapel**. To the left of Holles is a small tablet, high up, to **Grace Scot**, d. 1645, on which is a loving epitaph by her husband.

"He that will give my Grace but what is hers
Must say her death hath not
Made only her dear Scot
But virtue, worth, and sweetness widowers."

4. To the pavement below has been removed the effigy, in very stiff Jacobean attire, of **Lady St John**, d. 1614, which was dislodged to make way for the Nightingale monument (266).

5. On the West side of the chapel is the memorial to **Franklin**, with Tennyson's epitaph:—

"Not here: the White North has thy bones; and thou,
Heroic sailor soul,
Art passing on thine happier voyage now
Toward no earthly pole."

Below it is an inscription to another brave Arctic voyager, **Admiral McClintock**, d. 1907 (267). At the back of Franklin's monument may be seen the hinges of the door which formerly led into the transept.

23. St Michael's Chapel

Next is the chapel of St Michael, St Martin, and All Saints. In the eastern wall are two niches of an ancient **Reredos** of the altar; at the back of the tomb of the Duchess of Somerset is a marble slab, found beneath the transept floor, and probably the altar slab of the chapel; two of its inscribed crosses remain.

6. Here is the most abominable monument in the church, that of **Lady Nightingale**, d. 1731, by Roubiliac, with her husband protesting against his wife being stabbed by a skeleton (266).

However, when John Wesley visited the Abbey in 1771, he found "none other monument to be compared with that of Mrs Nightingale;"* and the judicious historian of the Abbey, Mr Brayley, says: "Every sympathetic feeling of the heart and mind is awakened by the contemplation of this extraordinary performance; and a throb of real anguish fills the breast, on viewing the alarmed countenance of the afflicted Husband, striving ineffectually to shield his beloved Wife from the blow which consigns her,

* Stanley, 317.

an early victim, to the gloomy mansions of the dead. It is almost impossible to speak of such a masterly work without a degree of admiration bordering on enthusiasm ; yet even the language of enthusiasm itself would hardly be too strong to do justice to its merits. The genius that could conceive, and the talents which could execute so noble a monument of art, will for ever rank the name of Roubiliac in the highest class of human intelligence. It has been his, to express the severe pangs of conjugal affection when about to be bereaved of its last hope ; to portray the last struggle of female imbecility ; and to realise the daring idea of the poet Milton, by creating a Soul

'. . . under the ribs of Death !'"

24. St Andrew's Chapel

7. Next is the chapel of St Andrew, in which is another important monument in the style of the Tudor Renaissance, that of **Lord Norris**, d. 1601, renowned most, says Camden,

From the Tomb of Lord Norris

"for that right valiant and warlike Progeny of his, as the Netherlands, Portugall, Little Bretagne, and Irelande can witnesse." Of these six "valiant and expert commanders" only one survived the parents. They are shown kneeling on either side of the monument; some of them display so much character that they must be actual likenesses. They are all represented with

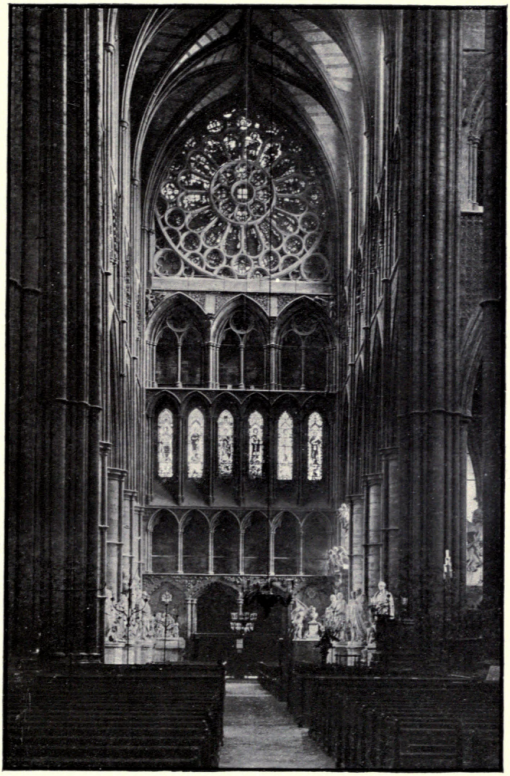
John Kemble

Mrs Siddons

hands clasped in prayer, except the youngest on the North side; his statue is the best executed of the whole, and is probably intended for the surviving son, Edward.*

On the far side of Lord Norris's monument are statues of (8) **John Kemble** and (9) **Mrs Siddons**. The statue of the

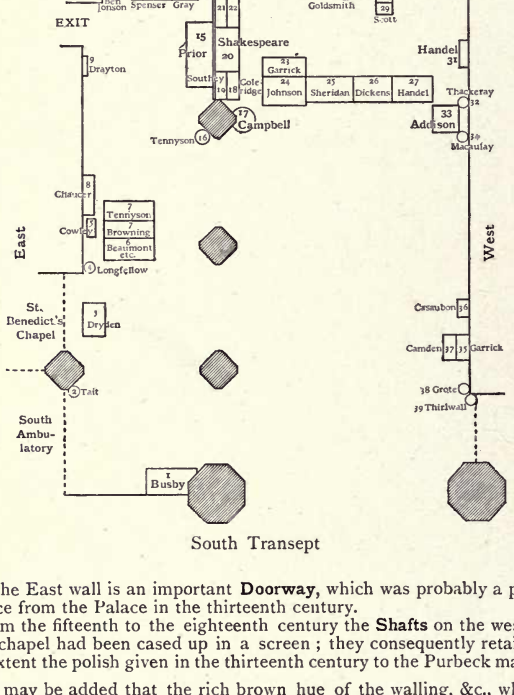
* Neale, ii. 198.



North Transept

former represents him in his part of the Roman Cato. The colossal statue of his sister is by Chantrey, suggested by Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of the actress as the Tragic Muse; it was erected at the expense of the actor Macready.

10. On the North wall is some of the best preserved of the thirteenth-century **Arcading** in the Abbey. In one spandril St Margaret rises from the body of the dragon, cleft at the sign of the cross; in a spandril to the right is a Majesty (86).

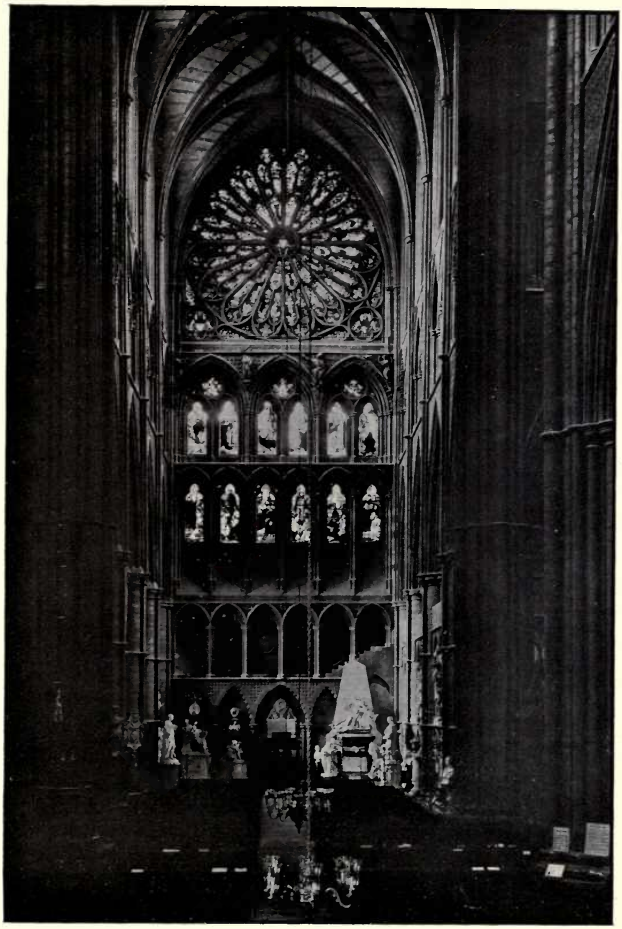


South Transept

In the East wall is an important **Doorway,** which was probably a private entrance from the Palace in the thirteenth century.

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century the **Shafts** on the west side of this chapel had been cased up in a screen; they consequently retain to a large extent the polish given in the thirteenth century to the Purbeck marble.*

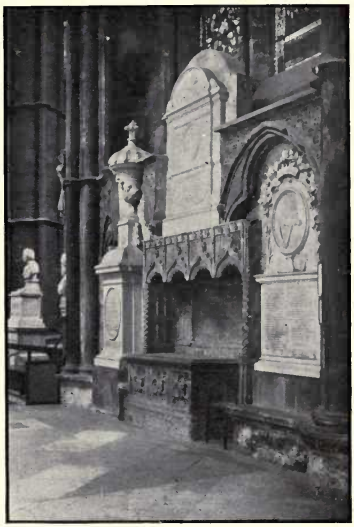
* It may be added that the rich brown hue of the walling, &c., which is one of the special charms of Westminster, is due to the use of freestone from Reigate. In some of the pier arches it is used alternately with courses of grey freestone from Caen. In the high vaults of Henry III.'s work the cells are filled in with chalk banded with brown Reigate freestone.



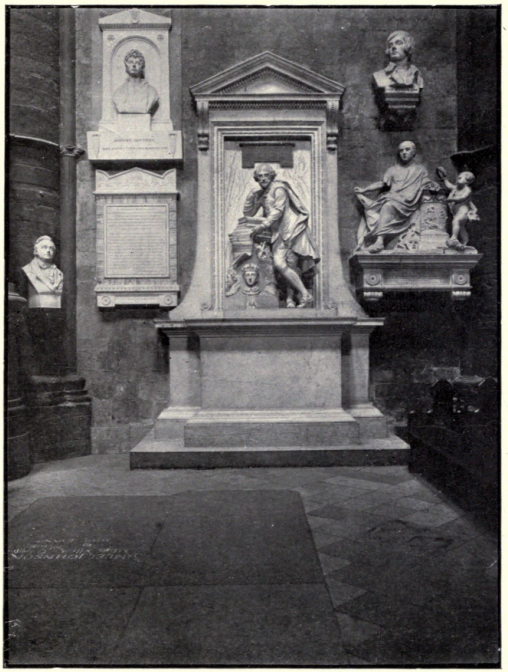
South Transept

25. South Transept

We now return through these chapels to the Ambulatory, and, turning to the right, pass into the North transept (271). Then we cross the church to the South transept (273). This is crowded with monuments, many of them memorials of poets, and goes by the name of **Poets' Corner**. Nearly all are of post-Reformation date, and many are memorials of people who are not buried in the Abbey, nor were ever in any way connected with its history: it is not worth while to examine them all at length. (1) Immediately to the left, before reaching the iron gates, is the monument of **Dr Busby**, Headmaster of Westminster School for fifty-five years, d. 1695; "a very great man," said Sir Roger de Coverley; "whipped my grandfather." (2) On the pillar at the corner of St Benedict's chapel is a small bust of **Archbishop Tait**, d. 1882, by Armstead. (3) Next is the monument of the poet **John Dryden**, d. 1700, by Scheemakers. (4) Then comes a bust of the poet **Longfellow**, d. 1882, by Brock; and (5) an urn-monument to the poet **Cowley**, d. 1667. (6) At the foot of this last a large slab in the floor commemorates the poets **Cowley**, **Chaucer**, **Beaumont**, **Denham**, and **Prior**. (7) On the left a red slab marks the grave of **Browning**, and a black slab that of **Tennyson**. (8) Beneath the window is a large monument in grey Purbeck marble, which at the same time provides an altar and room for a priest to stand at the end of it when saying a mass for the repose of the soul of the deceased. Hard by was buried the poet **Chaucer**. Chaucer lived in the precincts as Clerk of the Works to the King—most illustrious



Dryden, Cowley, Chaucer



Coleridge, Southey, Shakespeare, Burns, Thomson

Clerk of the Works that ever was—he died poor in 1400, and for long had no memorial but a leaden inscription hanging from a pillar. But in 1555 Nicholas Brigham presented the existing tomb, transferring to it the ashes of the poet. The monument is of a design very common *c.* 1500, and may well have stood originally in one of the great churches of the Black Friars or Grey Friars, before they were dismantled. (9) Close to the door is a tablet surmounted by a bust of **Michael Drayton**, d. 1631, author of the geographical poem, *Polyolbion*.

(10) **Ben Jonson** is buried in the North aisle of the nave, but there is a tablet here on the South wall above the low doorway in it, with the name misspelt. (11) On the same wall is a monument to **Spenser**, d. 1598, "the Prince of Poets in his tyme, whose divine spirrit needs noe othir witnesse then the workes which he left behinde him." (12) Above is the memorial of **Samuel Butler**, d. 1680, author of *Hudibras*. (13) Below, to the right, is the monument of the poet **Gray**, d. 1771. (14) Above it is the memorial of **Milton**, who died in 1674; it was not erected till 1737.

(15) In the centre of the wall facing the window is the monument of the poet **Matthew Prior**, d. 1721. (16) At the corner of the pillar is a bust of **Tennyson**, executed by Woolner in 1857; the poet lived for thirty-five years after.

The next group of monuments is on the west side of this wall. (17) First is seen on a pedestal a statue of **Thomas Campbell**, author of *Ye Mariners of England*, d. 1844; then (18) the bust of **Samuel Coleridge**, author of *The Ancient Mariner*, d. 1834, by Thorneycroft; then (19) high up, the bust of the poet **Southey**, d. 1843. Then (20) comes the statue of **Shakespeare**, put up in 1740; then (21) high up, the bust of **Robert Burns**; and below it (22) a statue of **James Thomson**, author of *The Seasons*, d. 1748. (23) In the centre of the transept are gravestones, side by side, of **David Garrick**, and (24) **Dr Johnson**; and next, those of (25) **Sheridan**, (26) **Dickens**, and (27) **Handel** (275).

The next group is on the South wall of the transept. (28) Over the doorway of St Faith's chapel is a medallion of **Oliver Goldsmith**, who, says Dr Johnson in his epitaph, "nullum fere scribendi genus non tetigit, nullum quod tetigit non ornavit." (29) Next comes a bust of **Sir Walter Scott**, and (30) above it a bronze medallion, by Onslow Ford, of **John Ruskin**, d. 1900.

The next group of monuments is on the West wall. (31) In the first bay, high up, is the monument of **Handel**, by Roubiliac; and (32) below, a bust of **Thackeray**; then (33) a statue of **Addison**, in his dressing-gown, by Westmacott;

then (34) at the back of this, a bust of **Macaulay**, facing his grave; and (35) at the very end of the wall, high up, the monument of **David Garrick**, retiring behind the curtains of the stage on his final exit. (36) Below are memorials of the scholar, **Isaac Casaubon**, d. 1614, and (37) the antiquary, **Camden**, second master of Westminster School, d. 1623; and at the corner are busts of (38) **Grote** and (39) **Thirlwall**, each of whom wrote a *History of Greece.**

* Nothing is so staringly and painfully obtrusive and insistent as these white marble busts; if memorials must be placed in the church, they should be medallions of bronze, which, against a brown stone background, are comparatively inoffensive.

CHAPTER XIX

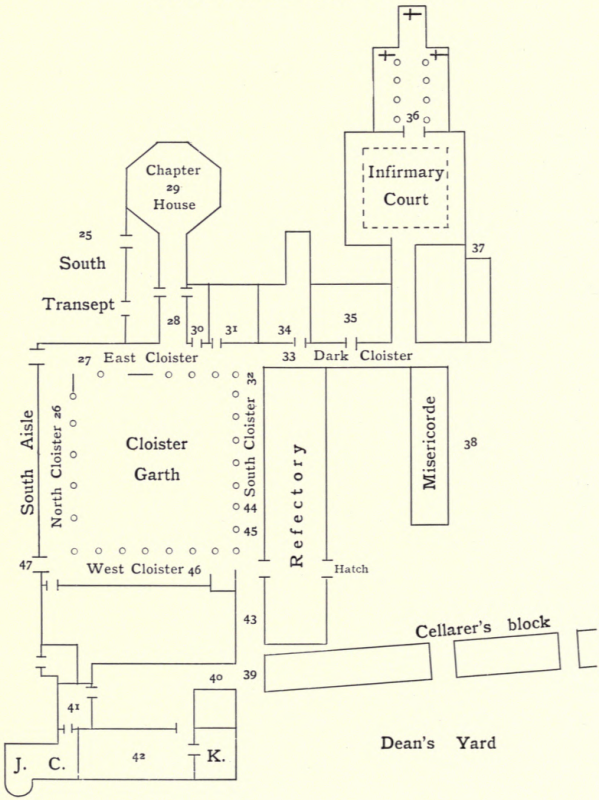
VISITORS' GUIDE TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY

SECOND SECTION

The Cloister

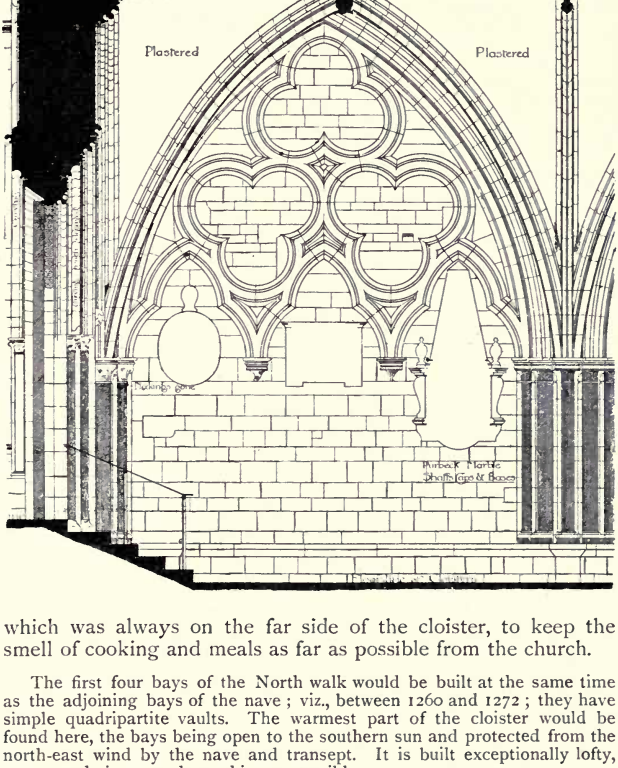
NOW we turn to the left and enter the South aisle of the nave, but at once pass out into the Cloisters by a beautiful thirteenth-century doorway (41). The central garth is and always was a lawn or a garden; the monks were not buried in the garth, but to the South-East of the church; the present Chapter House is in the middle of their cemetery. The cloister stands exactly on the site of the Norman one; large portions of Norman walls and vaulted substructures still remain to the East and South. The Norman cloister was much lower than the present one, and had no vaults, but merely a lean-to roof of wood. Fragments of its shafts and arches, which have been put together in the Museum, shew late and rich Norman work, not earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS



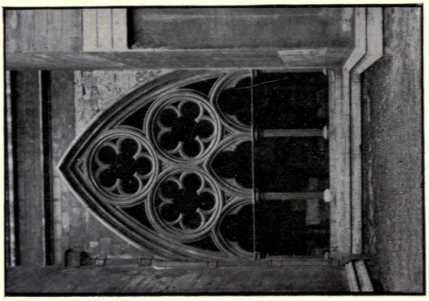
26. North Cloister

We first turn to the right and pass a little way up the North walk (31). Looking through the windows across the grass, we have a good view of the upper part of the monks' Refectory,

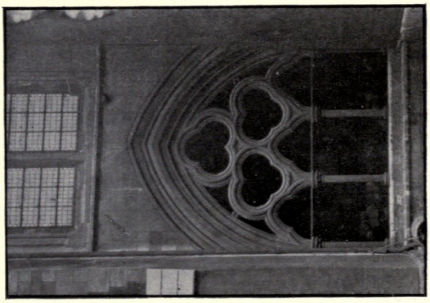


which was always on the far side of the cloister, to keep the smell of cooking and meals as far as possible from the church.

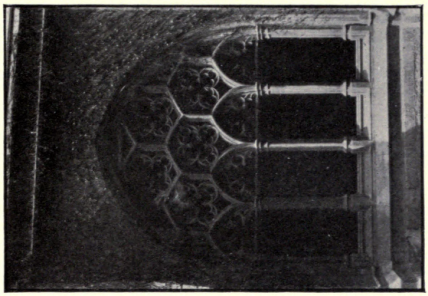
The first four bays of the North walk would be built at the same time as the adjoining bays of the nave ; viz., between 1260 and 1272 ; they have simple quadripartite vaults. The warmest part of the cloister would be found here, the bays being open to the southern sun and protected from the north-east wind by the nave and transept. It is built exceptionally lofty, so as to admit as much sunshine as possible.



North Cloister



East Cloister



West Cloister

East Cloister

This walk was from the first appropriated for study; the monks sitting on the stone bench which runs along the aisle wall. The windows were at first unglazed, so that the ornamental arcading on the aisle wall shewed up well. The Abbot had his special seat,* when in the cloister, on the broad bench in the first bay of the East walk, where the shafts have been purposely omitted (279).

At Westminster the privilege of studying in the North cloister was much restricted. No one was to write in the cloister, unless he were writing by the order of his superior a charter or something of that sort for the good of the convent; "nisi forte cartam aut aliquid huiuscemodi scriptum iussu superioris pro communi scribat utilitate." Certain of the more proficient monks were given employment every day in writing or illuminating, but even they must not work at improper hours; "nec debent illi cotidiani scriptores horis scribere incompetentibus."† There was only room for a few monks to have studies, and officers who rarely used the cloister were not to have "carrels" or studies in it; nor were any other of the brethren, unless they were sure that they were benefiting the convent or themselves by writing or illuminating; "nisi in scribendo vel illuminando aut tantum notando communitati aut eciam sibimet ipsis proficere sciant."‡ The bays reserved for studies were those which had a good light, viz., the third, fourth, fifth, and half of the sixth bay from the East. In later days these bays were made much more comfortable; they seem to have been screened off to the east and west by bookcases, and the windows were glazed. In the upper part of each window the glazing was carried down to a horizontal iron bar, grooved at the top to receive it and running along the springing line of the arch. Below the iron bar were "frames of wood" which contained "tinctured glass of divers colours."§ Probably, as at Durham, Chester, and Gloucester, wooden tables and seats would be set under each window, forming little "carrels" or "studies," partitioned off. At the back, as may be gathered from the numerous holes in the wall, small bookcases were pegged against the wall; moreover, the wall-bench is cut back for other large bookcases standing on the floor, as is shewn in the photograph on page 31; in fact the walk was converted into quite a comfortable library. There was, however, a special room elsewhere, *scriptoriae domus*, or *scriptorium*, where most of the copying and illuminating of manuscripts would be carried on.

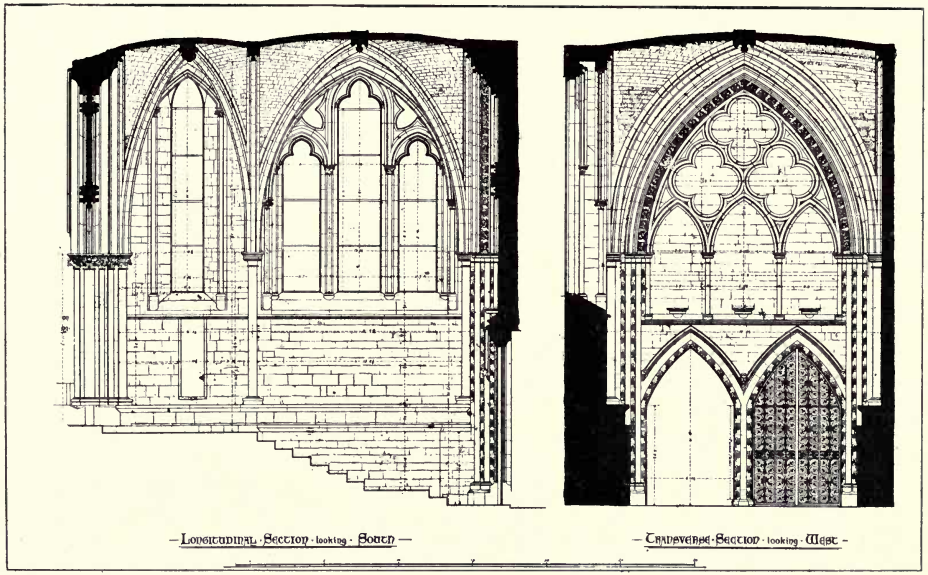
It may be worth while to compare the arrangement of the North walk at Durham at the Dissolution. "The North side of the cloister . . . was all finely glazed from the top of the windows to their sills, and in every window there were three pews or carrels, where every one of the old monks had his carrel by himself; that when they had dined they did resort to that place of cloister, and there studied upon their books, every one in his carrel all the

* "Domnus autem abbas . . . in capite partis orientis claustri pro more antiquo sedere solet; et prior primus in aquilonari parte iuxta hostium ecclesiae" (Ware, 157); *i.e.*, "it is the ancient custom that the Abbot sit in the first bay of the East walk of the cloister; and that the Prior have the first seat in the North walk next to the doorway into the Church."

† Ware's *Customary*, 162.

‡ Ware, 165. There were similar restrictions at St Augustine's, Canterbury; see its *Customary*, i. 211.

§ *Gleanings*, 38; and Keepe in Lethaby, 37.



Vestibule of Chapter House

afternoon unto evensong time; this was their exercise every day. All these carrels were all finely wainscoted, and were completely closed in except in front . . . and in every carrel was a desk to lay their books on; and the carrels were no greater than from one mullion of the window to the next. And over against the carrels did stand against the church wall great almeries or cupboards of wainscot all full of books (with a great store of ancient MSS.) . . . wherein did lie as well the old ancient written Doctors of the Church as other profane authors, with divers other holy men's works, so that every one did study what Doctor pleased them best, having the library at all times to go study in besides their carrel." So that at Durham also there was a Library or Scriptorium as well as the Claustral carrels.

On the wall in the third bay from the East is a tablet to William Laurence, who died in 1621, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

> "Shorthand he wrote: his flower in prime did fade,
> And hasty Death short hand of him hath made."

27. East Cloister

The first four bays were probably built before 1253, when the Chapter House was completed, except that it had canvas instead of glass in the windows. These bays have simple quadripartite vaults like those of the North walk. The tracery of the windows is different; in the North walk it consists of circles into which cusps have been put back by Sir Gilbert Scott, while the wall arcading has quatrefoils; in the East walk the window tracery consists of trefoils (280).

In this walk took place a ceremony which goes back at least to the sixth century; it is minutely described in the *Rites of Durham*. "There was a goodly ceremony which the Prior" (at Westminster, the Abbot) "and the monks did use every Thursday before Easter, called Maundy Thursday. The custom was this. There were thirteen poor aged men" (representing Christ and the twelve Apostles) "appointed to come to the cloister at that day, having their feet clean washed, there to remain till such time as the Prior and the whole convent did come thither at 9 o'clock or thereabouts; the aged men sitting between the parlour door" (which at Durham was North of the chapter house) "and the church door, upon a fair long broad thick form . . . where the Abbot after certain prayers said, one of his servants did bring a fair bason with clean water, and the Abbot did wash the poor men's feet, all of them, one after another, with his own hand, and dried them with a towel, and kissed their feet himself. Which being done, he did very liberally bestow 30*d.* in money on every one of them, with seven red herring apiece, and did serve them himself with drink and three loaves of bread." In the South transept of Winchester there still remains a great oak settle, which may have been the Abbot's Maundy bench; at Durham it was always taken back into the church after use. At Westminster, underneath the stone bench under the first window on the west side, is a row of eyed bolts which may have had some connexion with the Maundy bench. The monks also had a Maundy, when they washed the feet of certain children. A little farther, on the west side of the cloister a staircase leads to the triforium of the South transept, used as a Muniment room.

28. One bay farther, on the East side, is the **Vestibule** to the Chapter House; it had to be built low, because the night path from the dormitory to the South transept passed over it (291). On the left of it is a doorway from the Revestry, enabling the Chapter House to be reached direct from the transept without going round by the cloister. On the opposite side of the vestibule is an ancient door, once covered with human skin; a portion may be felt at the back of the top hinge; some thief, no doubt, has been flayed and his tanned skin affixed to the

Arcading of Chapter House

door as a warning. The South alley of the vestibule has been renewed; in the North alley deep grooves remain, worn by the footsteps of those who used the Chapter House for nearly three centuries. At the top of the flight of steps, on the left, is a Roman **Sarcophagus** of Valerius Amandinus, found on the North side of the Abbey. On its lid is a cross; so that it may have been reused for Christian burial (2).*

29. All round the **Chapter House** are seats for the monks, who were only part occupiers, the sittings of the House of

* See the discussion in the *Archaeological Journal*, xxvii. 103, 110, 119, 257.

Commons being held here till the end of the reign of Henry VIII. (93). At the dissolution of the Abbey in 1540 the Chapter House became exclusively royal property, and has remained so ever since (that is why it is in charge of a policeman, and not of a verger). Up to 1865 it was used as a Record Office.

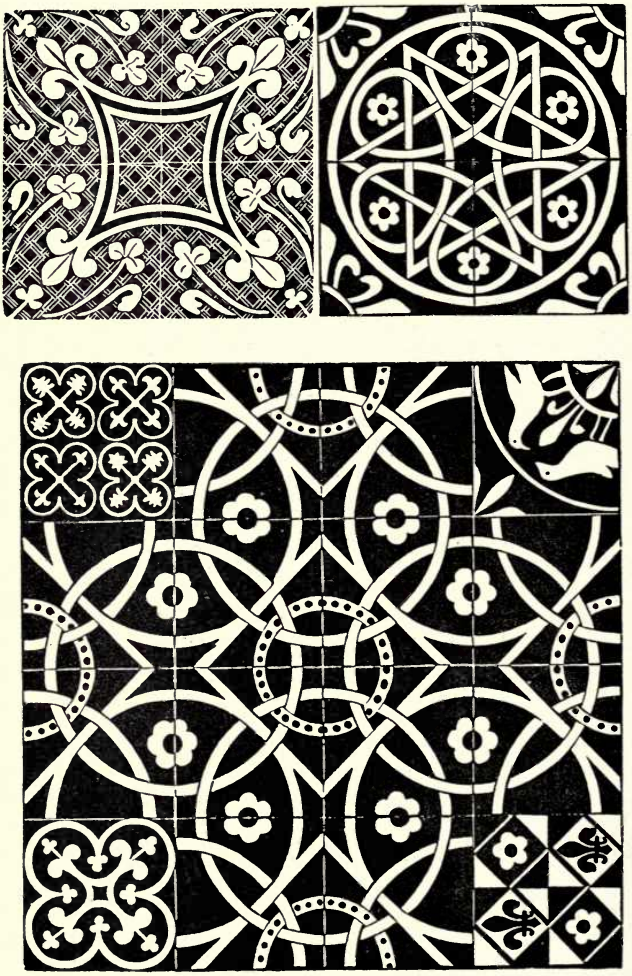
The floor contains the largest collection of **Incised Tiles** in the country; they are in good condition, as they were covered with a wooden floor for some centuries: they are of about the same date as the Chapter House, *i.e.*, *c.* 1255. Among the subjects are Henry III., Eleanor of Provence, Abbot Crokesley, the Confessor giving his ring to the pilgrim (57), the leopards of England, the Westminster salmon (4); others, when put together, give the pattern of the great rose window in the South transept.* On the West side of the central pillar is a space about four feet square, where the tiles are very little worn; this is where, till the Dissolution, the great lectern stood, which Henry III. ordered in 1249, and which was to be like the famous one at St Albans, "only more beautiful, if it might be." On the left of the doorway are beautiful frescoes, "painted by Brother John of Northampton in the time of Edward IV. The series shows us St John in Patmos, prostrate before the vision of the Majesty. We see him writing his messages to the Churches, which are represented as seven buildings; an angel stands in the doorway of each one. Christ is represented between the golden candlesticks, a sword in His mouth; and the elders cast down their crowns."† On either side of the internal doorway stand fine thirteenth-century statues of St Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin; between is a modern statue of our Lord in Majesty. The glass cases contain many objects of much interest; in the one near the doorway is the magnificent missal which cost Abbot Litlington in 1384 over £500; the large illuminated letters alone cost over £300.

In monastic times, every day, after the matins mass at the quire altar, the bell rang for Chapter; this would be about 9 a.m., and monks and novices repaired to the Chapter House. Then a portion of the Martyrology was read, so that all might know for whom prayers should be offered in the services on the day following. Then all stood up and turned eastward towards the Majestas, which could be seen till recently behind the eastern stalls: in the centre was our Lord in Majesty with cherubim on either side, which again were flanked by adoring angels; then God's blessing was invoked on the day's work, and the various tasks of the day were distributed. Then a chapter or part of a chapter of the Rule of St Benedict was read, and all left the Chapter House except the monks. The rest of the proceedings were strictly private; offences might now be denounced, confessions made, and penance imposed. Also, at times, important business matters would now be communicated to the convent.‡

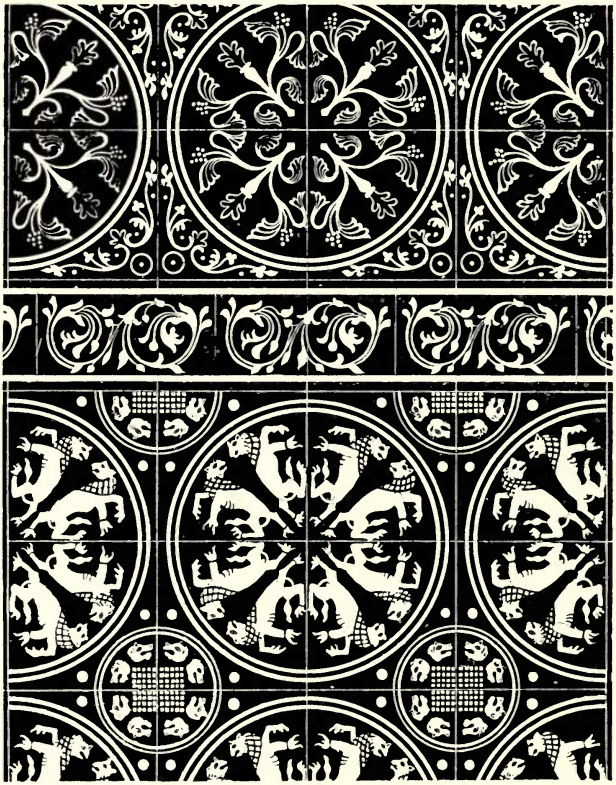
Now we leave by the vestibule and have in front the four **Reticulated Windows** of this walk, which have the net-like flowing tracery in vogue during the first half of the fourteenth century: here, too, is enriched **Vaulting** overhead (281, 91). Notice the difference of the capitals at the junction of the thirteenth and fourteenth century work (113).

* Lethaby, 45, 75, 163.
† Lethaby, 282.
‡ *Rites of Durham*, 279.

Tiles in Chapter House



Tiles in Chapter House



Tiles in Chapter House

30. The first doorway to the South, close to the vestibule, is that of the **Day Stairs**, by which the monks in the day-time passed from their dormitory on the first floor to the cloister (278).

31. From the vestibule Southward, all the buildings are of the time of Edward the Confessor, and have groined vaulting within. The first room on the ground floor has two and a half bays, and is now the **Chapel of the Pyx**: the low and very strong door close to that of the day stairs admits to it (17).

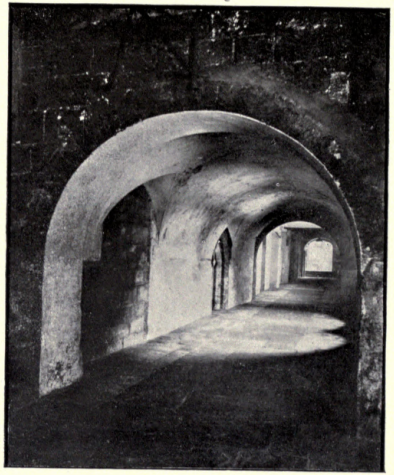
Day Stairs

Originally it was the Abbey Treasury. At some period this room (not shewn) became the property of the Government, and became the Chapel of the Pyx; in it used to be kept the standard weights and measures in a chest or pyx. At the East end of it is the original altar *in situ;* it is remarkable that in the centre of the altar slab is a circular sinking; in this some relic was kept, and then, to secure it, another slab was cemented on to it. Hard by is a columnar piscina of the thirteenth century.

32. South Cloister

Turning to the right, we pass a little way up the South walk of the cloister, which was the work of Abbots Langham and Litlyngton. The South walk was begun by the former about 1351, and the South and West walks were finished by the latter in 1365. Litlyngton's monogram and arms appear on some of the bosses of the vault. The slabs of three abbots remain under the bench of the South wall; the inscriptions above them are incorrect: starting from East to West they should be, Lawrence, d. 1175, with a mitre; Gilbert, d. 1121, no mitre, of black marble from Tournai, like the font in Winchester Cathedral; and Humez, with a mitre, d. 1222. Notice the great black slab, which is called "Long Meg"; it is said, very doubtfully, to mark the place where Abbot Byrcheston and twenty-six of his monks are buried, who

Vestibule to Chapter House



Dark Cloister

died of the Black Death in 1349; Abbot Byrcheston, however, is known to have been buried in the East walk in front of the reticulated windows which he built.* The illustration shews (1) a boss in the vault with the initials of Nicholas Litlyngton; (2) the doorway to Ashburnham House; (3) the towel recesses; (4) the doorway to the refectory; (5) the doorway to the outer parlour.

If time is limited, the visitor will do well now to pass round the West walk of the cloister into the nave, and then leave the church by the North transept (see pages 306 to 313).

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33. Dark Cloister

Now we return to the East Cloister, which is continued to the South, forming what is called the Dark Cloister; it is a long, dark, semicircular tunnel (278).

34. In the Dark Cloister, on the left, a few yards further on, is a low doorway marked "**Gymnasium**" (not shewn). It was probably the Slype and Parlour. The Slype was a passage leading from the cloister to the cemetery. The Parlour was a small room where, under restrictions, the monks might converse; conversation in the cloister being strictly forbidden.†

To the East is a small chapel, said to have been dedicated to **St Dunstan**; at the end of it, on the right, is a piscina with a credence shelf, and above it a large niche for a statue; both are of late and rich design, and retain much of their original colour and gilding.

35. Then come three more vaulted bays, in which a **Museum** is in course of formation. It contains portions of the arcade of the Norman cloister and some of the "ragged regiment" of funeral effigies (18). A room in this position formed at Durham the **Common House** or Calefactory.‡

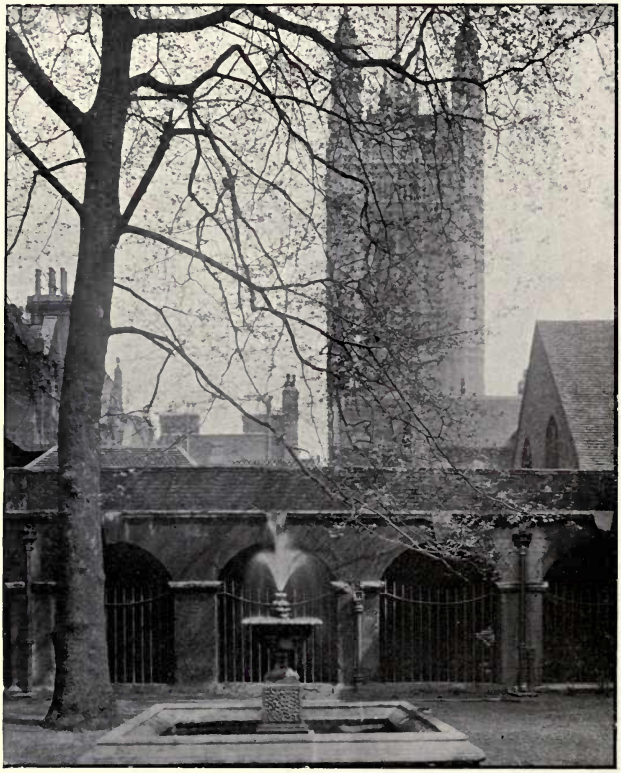
* "Sepultus est ante introitum locutorii domus capitularis juxta ostium dormitorii" (Flete's *History*, 129).

† Sometimes Slype and Parlour were one.

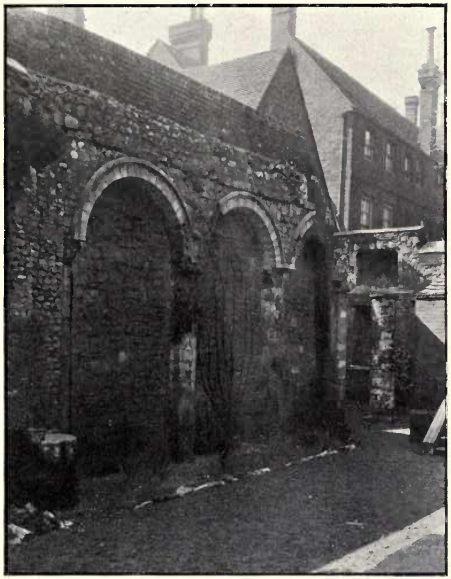
‡ In the Cistercian abbeys the Calefactory or Warming House was a separate building, built on to the East side of the Refectory in the South cloister. The monks were allowed to come and warm their hands in the Calefactory in winter.

At Durham "the Commoner's checker (or store room) was in the Common House. His office was to provide all such spices against Lent as should be comfortable for the monks for their great austerity both of fasting and praying, and to see a good fire continually in the Common

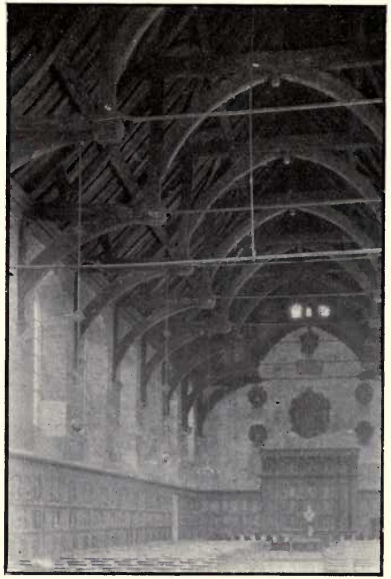
South Cloister from East



Infirmary Court



St Katherine's Chapel



Great School Room

House hall for the monks to warm them when they were disposed ; * and to have always a hogshead of wine for the keeping of (the feast when he sang the anthem) *O Sapientia ;* and to provide figs and walnuts against Lent."

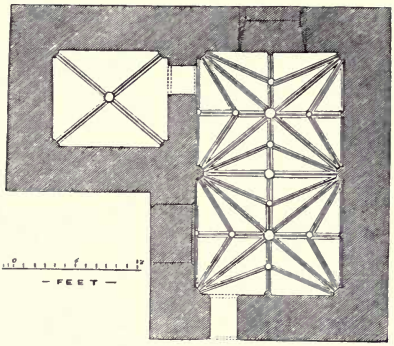
36. A little farther, to the left, running at right angles, is a semicircular tunnel, which, like the rest of this range of buildings, is plainly eleventh-century work of Edward the Confessor ; it led to the **Infirmary** (294). This was originally a vast hall, divided into nave and aisles, and in the aisles were beds for infirm, sick, and superannuated monks, who were most carefully tended ; for St Benedict had ordered that the sick should "be served in very deed as Christ Himself ; for He said, 'I was sick and ye visited Me.'"† East of the hall and open to it was the large Chapel or **Church of St Katharine** ; of its nave, which had aisles of five bays, part of the arcade remains with work *c.* 1150 ; it was finished before 1162, when Holinshed says a synod met in it. East of the nave is an unaisled chancel, in which the altar platform still remains. At the East end of each aisle were probably altars of Our Lady and St Lawrence. Such an infirmary, consisting of an aisled hall with chapel to the East, still remains in use at Chichester (St Mary's Hospital). This Westminster infirmary was burnt down in 1298, and was rebuilt by Abbot Litlyngton in a totally different and non-monastic fashion, much as we see it now. In the centre, where the hall had been, was a little courtyard, and all around it were small houses : the invalids declined to live any longer in an open hall ; they wanted, and they got, each man a room with a fireplace for himself.‡ So comfortable was the infirmary as newly arranged that in some monasteries laymen also were allowed to spend their declining years in it, and arrangements were made to receive them *en pension* on payment of a lump sum down. § On the East side of the present court-

* Special arrangements were made in winter at the Eucharist that the celebrant's hands might not be numbed, and there be danger lest he should drop the sacred elements. To prevent that, either warming-pans or hollow iron balls filled with lighted charcoal were provided. "Necnon patellas ferreas vel saltem luceas (or 'fuceas') cum ignitis carbonibus ad altaria singula, . . . quociens in yeme opus fuerit, fratribus missam celebrantibus tenetur exhibere." So also *Customary* of St Augustine, Canterbury, i. 106, where it is called a *Calepugnus ;* at Salisbury it is called a *Calefactory.* At Worcester there was "a fyre ball to warm hands." The Lichfield Sacrist's Roll mentions "Unum pomum de cupro superauratum ad calefaciendum manus." "Poma" were used at the coronations of Roman emperors ; one is still kept in the sacristy of St Peter's, Rome, another in the treasury at Halberstadt (Editor's note in Ware, 50).

† Abbot Laurence is praised by Flete for his goodness to the sick. "Ad curam infirmorum semper direxit oculum pietatis, in se recogitans illud beati Benedicti in regula sua ; 'Infirmorum cura ante omnia et super omnia adhibenda est, ut sicut revera Christo ita eis serviatur" (*History*, 94).

‡ One of the fireplaces, on the first floor, is shewn in the illustration (295)

§ In 1147 Robert de Torpel entered the infirmary of the Benedictine monastery of Peterborough, and gave himself body and soul to God and St Peter, with all his lands in Coderstock and Glapthorpe ; and by way of confirmation of this donation he sent his pledge to the altar by a certain monk, videlicet a green bough, on condition that for life he should have from the abbey the diet of a monk, and four servants of his to have the diet of soldiers ; and that on his deathbed they should receive him in the habit of a monk (Craddock's *Peterborough*, 165, 174). At Westminster William de Colchester, afterwards Abbot, in 1382 was allowed a chamber and garden to himself, a yearly salary of six marks (=£60), and a "corrody" or monk's provision (Widmore, 108).



Jewel House

yard is a fine doorway, which was the **West Doorway** of St Katharine's Chapel after the building of the new infirmary, *c.* 1370.

South-east of St Katharine's Church, but out of sight except from the Abbey roofs, is the **Jewel House** or Treasury, built by Richard II.; it is only accessible from Old Palace Yard, and is not shewn except by permission of the Office of the Board of Works (297).

It is of the same character as the work of Abbot Litlington in the cloister. On the ground floor are a large and a small room, both vaulted; the walls, parapets, and doorways of the tower are all original.

Westminster, like many another church, once had a Hermit of its own. Somewhere in the precincts, probably on the south side of the chancel of St Margaret's Church, was the **Anker's** or **Anchorite's House.** The Westminster hermits must have been men of high standing in their profession. To one of them went Richard II., to be advised whether he should sally forth to Smithfield against Jack Cade. Another of them was consulted by Henry III. And on Henry IV.'s death, his son, in horror at the frightful disease which had attacked his father, and his sudden end, after spending the day on his knees in prayer, resorted to the hermit and vowed amendment of life and asked for absolution. The Anker's House was still standing in 1778.

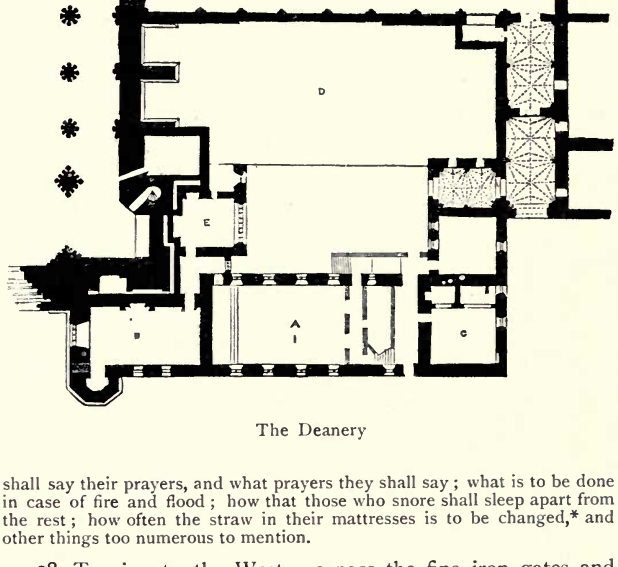
Now we return to the Dark Cloister; and, turning to the left, proceed Southward again (278).

On the left-hand side is a doorway to another bay of the undercroft of the dormitory; it is thought to have been the prison (it is not shewn). A few steps farther on, another doorway led by a staircase to the monks' Rere-Dorter or Necessarium.

Proceeding onward, we emerge into the quadrangle, round which are grouped the buildings of **Westminster School.** 37. To the left is a staircase leading up to the ancient **Dormitory** (not shewn in school hours). The Dormitory or Dorter was, as usual, on the first floor, with vaulted undercrofts beneath. Usually its North end abutted on to the South transept; but at Westminster it did not extend over the vestibule of the Chapter House or the Revestry. It is a vast hall, 170 feet long, now divided up into the Abbey library and the great schoolroom; the latter has a plain but imposing hammerbeam roof, probably of the last years of Elizabeth's reign (295). Originally all the monks slept in this open dormitory; later, it would be partitioned off into cubicles; at the Dissolution each monk of Durham had "a little chamber of wainscot to himself, and their windows towards the cloister, each window serving for one chamber, and in every window a desk to support their books for their studies."

Abbot Ware's *Customary* gives detailed directions as to the behaviour of the monks in the dormitory. Here, as everywhere in the monastery, the

regulations seem at first sight vexatiously minute and exacting ; but it must be remembered that the monks had to live crowded together both by day and night all their lives ; and it was absolutely necessary that no one should be allowed to be a nuisance to his neighbours even in the smallest things : small causes of offence, constantly repeated, are quite as exasperating as grave ones. Minute regulations, and prompt, cheerful, and implicit obedience are indispensable on a man-of-war ; so they were in a mediaeval monastery. So Abbot Ware very properly gives precise directions when the monks shall go to bed, and when they shall rise ; how that a sleepy man is not to be awakened with a sudden shock ; what they shall wear in bed, and what they shall not wear ; how they shall keep their feet inside the bed ; that they



The Deanery

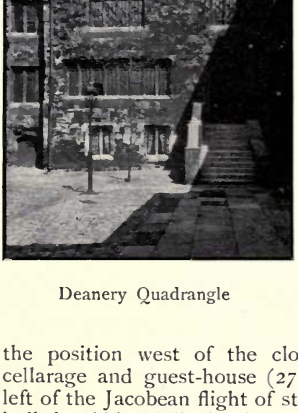
shall say their prayers, and what prayers they shall say ; what is to be done in case of fire and flood ; how that those who snore shall sleep apart from the rest ; how often the straw in their mattresses is to be changed,* and other things too numerous to mention.

38. Turning to the West, we pass the fine iron gates and railings of **Ashburnham House**, built by Inigo Jones in 1662

* The chamberlain and sub-chamberlain were to change the straw in the mattresses once a year if the occupant of the bed wished it. "Camerarii et subcamerarii incumbit officio . . . semel in anno, pro recta et antiqua consuetudine, stramen in omnibus lectis fratrum, si ipsi voluerint, mutare ac renovare" (Ware, 149).

for Colonel Ashburnham, which possesses a noble staircase and much fine plasterwork (160). Proceeding on, we pass through a vaulted gateway into **Dean's Yard** (the football field of the school). Here we turn to the right and walk alongside a long row of buildings rebuilt in the fourteenth century after the fire of 1298, and which cost £7,500 of our money. These consisted mainly of the **Cellarer's block**, with probably a guest-house and offices above. Halfway on is a small vaulted entrance to the courtyard, near which was the monastic kitchen (278).

A large stone hatch still exists (not visible) through which the dishes were passed from the kitchen to the refectory; similar hatches may be seen in the refectory wall at Carlisle, Tintern, and Beaulieu. On days when meat was allowed to be eaten, the monks did not dine in the old refectory, which was by the side of the South walk of the cloister, but in the **Misericord*** (or "House of Mercy"), which was parallel to the refectory, and on the south-east of the kitchen. The kitchen does not now exist: parts of the Misericord are built up in Ashburnham House.



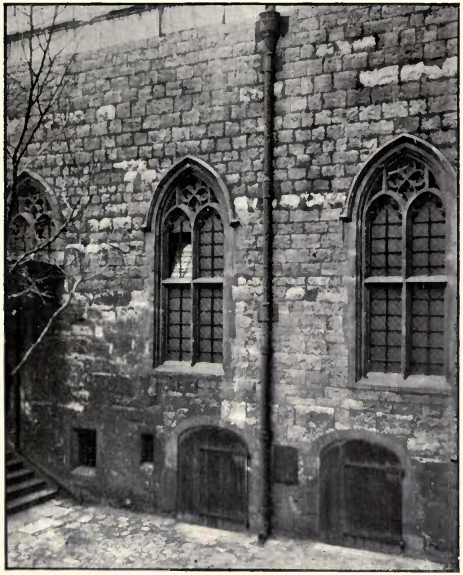
Deanery Quadrangle

39. Going still North, we reach another vaulted entrance in the corner of Dean's Yard. The first two vaulted bays are below the **Entrance Tower** of the cloister.

40. On the left is a vaulted **Vestibule** of two bays leading into the courtyard of what is now the **Deanery**, but was formerly the Abbot's residence, which at Westminster occupied the position west of the cloister, normally occupied by the cellarage and guest-house (278). 41. In the courtyard, to the left of the Jacobean flight of stone steps, is the **Jericho Parlour**, built by Abbot Islip (302).

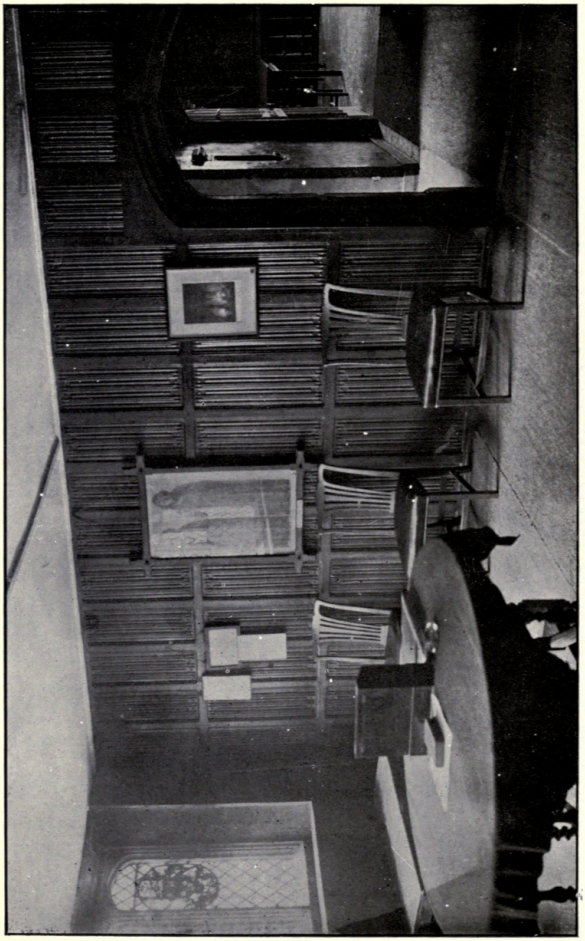
The coloured glass and the wainscot of the Jericho parlour date from the time of Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster from 1601-1605. One day, later on, he and his successor, Richard Neile, were consulted by James the First on a matter of high politics. "My Lord," said the King, "cannot

* At Peterborough the rule was "that all and singular brethren and monks of the monastery take the refection altogether in a place called the miseracorde, soch dayes as they eate fleshe, and all other dayes in the refectory."

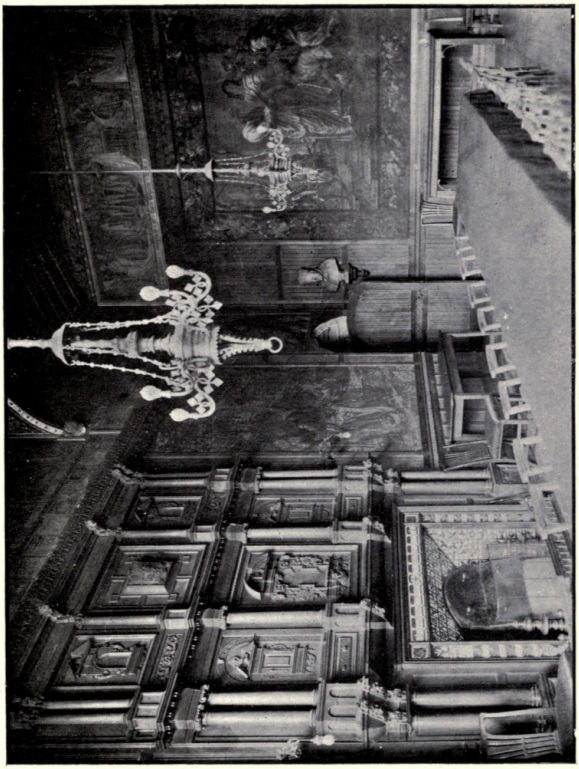


Exterior of Abbot's Hall

Interior of Abbot's Hall



Jericho Parlour

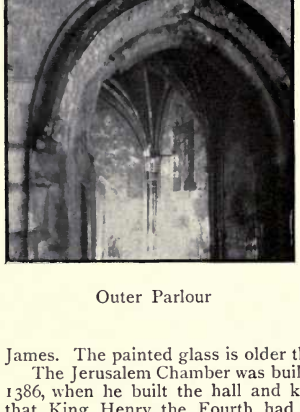


Jerusalem Chamber

I take my subjects' money without all these formalities in Parliament?" To which Neile, now Bishop of Durham, replied: "God forbid, Sir, but that you should; you are the very breath of our nostrils." Then the King turned to Lancelot Andrewes, now Bishop of Winchester: "Well, my Lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied Andrewes: "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it."

42. The West side of the courtyard is occupied with the **Abbot's Hall** (now used by the school), with the **Abbot's Kitchen** in the corner south of it (301).

The kitchen retains a great fireplace and hatches, and is in daily use for cooking the dinners of the boys of Westminster School; they dine in Abbot Litlyngton's noble hall, which has a Western gallery and tables said to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth. The hall used to be warmed by a fire on the floor, as at Penshurst. In the middle of the roof is a louvre, which once was open for the smoke to escape. In the North-west corner, not visible from the courtyard, is the famous **Jerusalem Chamber**, where Henry IV. died; it now serves as the Chapter House of the Abbey. In the Jerusalem Chamber is what remains of the **Retabulum**, which must have been "the most beautiful thirteenth-century painting in England";* formerly it formed a reredos to the High Altar. The fine chimneypiece, the ceiling, the armorial bearings in the north window, and the external staircase are probably of the time of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, *c.* 1624. The tapestry is of the time of Henry VIII., except one piece, which is of the time of the first James. The painted glass is older than the chamber (303).†



Outer Parlour

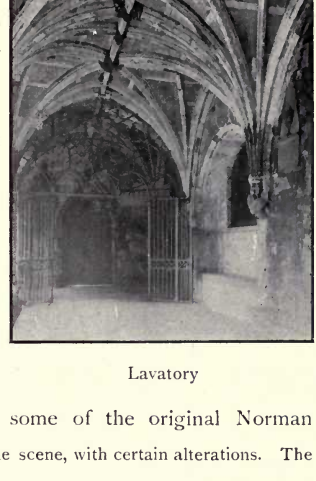
The Jerusalem Chamber was built by Abbot Litlyngton between 1376 and 1386, when he built the hall and kitchen. The chronicler Fabyan relates that King Henry the Fourth had made a vow to take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem "to visit the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord . . . . But while he was making his prayers at King Edward's shrine, to take there his leave and so speed him upon his journey, he became so sick that such as were about him feared that he would have died right there. Wherefore . . . they bare him into the Abbot's place and lodged him in a chamber, and there upon a pallet laid him before the fire, where he lay in great agony a certain time. At last when he was come to himself, . . . he commanded to ask if that chamber had any special name; whereunto it was answered that it was named 'Jerusalem.' Then said the King . . . 'Now know I that I shall

* *Gleanings*, 105; Lethaby, 263.
† *Gleanings*, 215-220.

die in this chamber, according to the prophecy of me that I should die in Jerusalem.' And so he made himself ready and died."*

43. Now we leave the courtyard, and turning to the left enter the Southern cloister by what used to be the monks' **Parlour**, or outer parlour of two vaulted bays (278).

Here, at Durham, was a chair attached to the wall, whereon sat "the porter which did keep the cloister door; and the said chair was boarded underfoot for warmness." At Durham, the outer parlour was the "place for merchants to utter their wares." A fine vaulted outer parlour remains in the Benedictine cathedral of Worcester. At Westminster the outer parlour was used for interviews of the monks with secular persons, *e.g.*, when they received a visit from a relative; but no one was to converse with a secular person in the outer parlour till after Chapter.† It was also called the *Locutorium*, and ladies of rank, as a favour and privilege, accompanied by a monk, might be introduced into the outer parlour and provided with food and drink in one of the claustral apartments.‡



Lavatory

South Cloister

44. We now once more enter the South Cloister. All the lower wall of its wall is of the Confessor's time, and some of the original Norman

* Shakespeare has dramatised the scene, with certain alterations. The King asks,

"Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging? . . ."

The Earl of Warwick answers,

"'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord."

The dying King replies,

"Even there my life must end.
It hath been prophesied to me many years
I should not die but in Jerusalem,
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land."

† "In locutorio exteriore nullus loqui debet claustralis cum aliqua seculari persona usque post capitulum" (Ware, 158).

‡ "(Mulieres nobiles) non in refectorium aliquo modo, sed in locutorium forinsecum, praesente aliquo ordinis custode, loquendi et bibendi gracia, ex permissione duci solent" (Ware, 171).

arcading remains on its inner face (15). It is the North wall of the Refectory or Frater, a great hall like the dining halls of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, 130 feet long, 38 feet broad. It was burnt out in 1298, and the upper part was rebuilt, with loftier walls, by Abbot Litlington; some of the windows and the corbels of his roof remain. The **Doorway** immediately on the right was the entrance to this Frater.

45. On the left of the doorway are four tall recesses in which were **Towel Cupboards** (293).

Such an almery or towel cupboard is described in the *Rites of Durham:* "Betwixt the said bench" (in the South cloister, on which sat the children whose feet the monks washed on Maundy Thursday) "and the Frater house door there was a fair almery joined in the wall, and another on the other side of the said door; and all the forepart of the almeries was through-carved (open) work for to give air to the towels, and three doors in the forepart of either almery, and a lock on every door, and every monk had a key for the said almeries, wherein did hang in every almery clean towels for the monks to dry their hands on when they washed and went to dine." The Westminster recesses had doors; it can be seen where the hooks and fastenings were. At Westminster it was the rule that every Sunday before the Sunday procession, and as often else as might be necessary, the soiled towels were to be taken away, and fair, white clean towels put in their place.* At Gloucester, opposite the lavatory, is a vaulted recess for towels, formerly closed by doors, the crooks of which remain; above them is open tracery for the free passage of air, as at Durham.†

A little farther on is a smaller fourteenth-century doorway; it may be that a locker was converted into a doorway to provide access to Ashburnham House. From this walk of the cloister there is a fine view of the church across the garth, showing the complicated system of stone posts and props by which the high vault within the nave is stopped from thrusting outward the clerestory walls (103).

West Cloister

46. We now turn back, and enter the West Cloister. Through the windows there is a fine view of the South transept, the conical roof of the Chapter House, the Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament, and, on the extreme right, the commencement of the high roof of the Dormitory. Behind us, in the West wall, close to its Southern end, is a recessed **Lavatory**, which originally was square and open to the cloister, where on stone shelves were placed cans of water with taps, such as are still in use in the provincial inns in France; you turn the tap, water

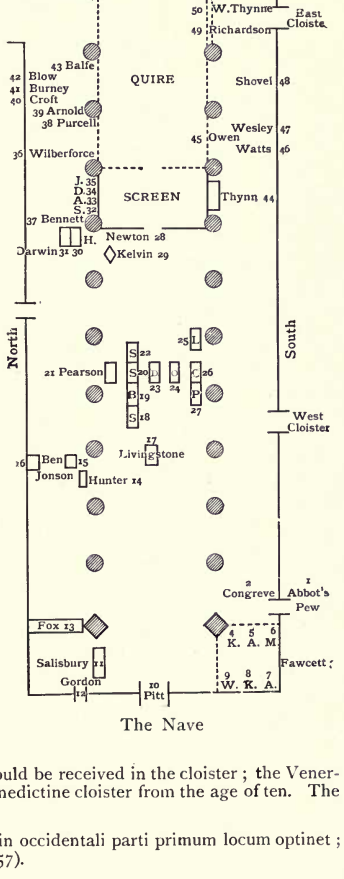
* "Mappae omni die Dominico ante processionem et quociens alias opus fuerit, per famulam camerarii amoveri debent, et alia munda, candida, et honesta apponi" (Ware, 103).

† *Rites of Durham*, 262.

trickles over your fingers, and you are held, ceremonially, to have washed your hands. The monks were most scrupulous about table manners; they always washed their hands before meals, and sometimes afterwards.

A magnificent lavatory remains in the Benedictine cloister of Gloucester; others remain, more or less perfect, at Worcester, Peterborough, Norwich, Fountains, Beaulieu, Kirkham, Hexham, and elsewhere. At Peterborough the greater part of an earlier lavatory of circular form, with sixteen circular basins, has been discovered in the foundations of the West Front; it would be of the character of a conduit, and would probably stand inside the cloister garth. It may be one of the marble lavatories presented by Abbot Robert Lindsey (1214-1222).*

This Western walk was the Monastic School. Note the high polish given to the stone bench by the many generations of scholars who have sat and wriggled about on it.



The Nave

Abbot Ware says, "in the western walk the master of the novices occupies the first seat, and after him his novices."† Here those who aspired to become monks had to learn by heart the various offices, the psalter, &c., and were taught to chant, and were instructed in the manners and customs of the Abbey, especially the necessity of unquestioning obedience and unvarying courtesy. St Benedict had specially ordered that children should be received in the cloister; the Venerable Bede was brought up in a Benedictine cloister from the age of ten. The

* *Rites*, 261 and xx.

† "Magister vero noviciorum in occidentali parti primum locum optinet; et post eum sui novicii" (Ware, 157).

monks were always willing to put at the disposal of poor boys of ability the highest education of the day; many such, entirely through a monastic training, rose to the highest positions in Church and State, one of them to the Papal throne. Great care was taken in selecting the Master of the Novices; he was to be, says St Benedict, "a person fitted for winning souls"; the whole care of the novices was handed over to him, and he was not to be interfered with. The Abbot and Prior, however, were sometimes to visit the novices and to test and examine them, and give encouragement to those who deserved it.

In the novices' walk at Durham there was "a fair great stall of wainscot where the novices did sit and learn; and also the Master of the Novices had a seat . . . over against the stall where the novices did sit and look on their books, and there did sit and teach the said novices both forenoon and afternoon."

Charles James Fox

But it was not all work and no play for the novices; for in the novices' walk at Canterbury there are no less than thirty sets of nine holes arranged in squares, evidently for some game; while at Gloucester and Salisbury there are holes for the game of "fox and geese." It is noteworthy that the "nine-holes" are found on the wall-bench at Westminster, not only in the Western, but in the first bay and a half of the Northern walk; that they extend no further to the East in this walk is probably due to the fact that at this point half a bay was taken up by a screen of broad bookcases planted across the walk.*

Notice also that as the end bays of the North walk were used by the novices, the wall in these is not arcaded, but left plain.

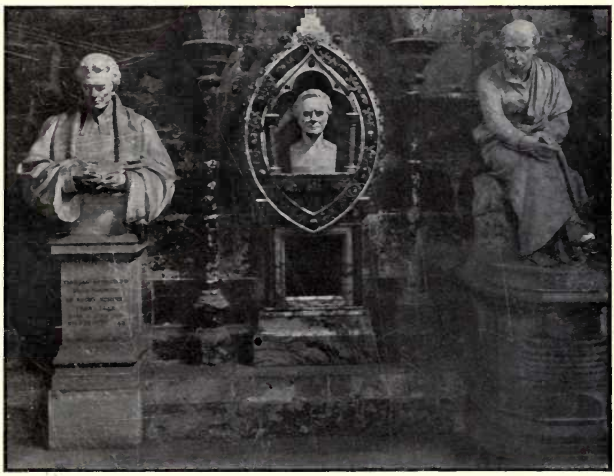
47. We now pass into the nave through a handsome **Doorway**, probably built when the West cloister was finished in 1365 (41).

* For the cloister 'games' see *Archæological Journal*, xlix. 319, and xxxiii. 20; and *Rites of Durham*, 277.

Nave (307)

48. Turning to the left, we proceed up the South aisle towards the West end of the nave. (1) Three bays on projects the balcony built in front of his private chapel by Abbot Islip. It goes by the name of the "**Abbot's Pew**"(53). (2) Beneath it is the memorial of the dramatist, **Congreve**, d. 1728.

49. Then we pass beneath the South-western tower, where is the **Consistory Court** with desk and chair still remaining. (3) High up above the chair, and usually invisible, is a bronze to

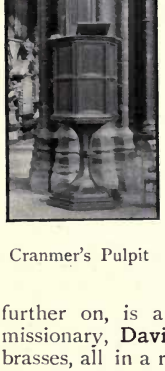


Dr Arnold, John Keble, William Wordsworth

Henry Fawcett, d. 1884, by Alfred Gilbert. On the east wall are white marble busts of (4) **Charles Kingsley** by Woolner; (5) **Matthew Arnold** by Bruce Joy; and (6) **Frederick Denison Maurice** by Woolner. Opposite are memorials of (7) **Dr Arnold** of Rugby; (8) **John Keble** by Woolner; and (9) **Wordsworth**.

50. Then we leave this chapel, and pass in front of the West doorway. (10) High above it (skied) is the monument of **William Pitt**, d. 1806, by Westmacott. On either side of this bay formerly were screens built by Abbot Islip, fencing in the

towers. (11) The site of the Southern screen of the North-western tower will shortly be occupied by the monument of **Lord Salisbury**, d. 1903, by Mr Goscombe John. Entering beneath this tower we see over the belfry doorway, (12) a bronze bust of "**Chinese Gordon**," by Onslow Ford. (13) Returning into the nave, we see in front of this same tower a half-naked statue of **Charles James Fox**, d. 1806, expiring in the arms of a figure intended to represent Liberty, but which with equal propriety might allegorise anything else; there is also Peace and a naked negro. Canova, after inspecting the negro in Westmacott's studio, assured Lord Holland that neither in England nor out of England had he seen any modern work in marble which surpassed it.



Cranmer's Pulpit

51. Now we pass Eastward up the North aisle. (14) In the third bay is a brass of **John Hunter**, d. 1793, the anatomist; (15) and at the foot of it is a small square stone (modern) where **Ben Jonson** was buried standing upright; in 1849 his two leg bones were seen upright in the sand; and when John Hunter's grave was being made, his skull was seen with traces of red hair upon it; (16) the original slab, with the famous inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson," spelt "Johnson," is placed low down against the wall to preserve it.

Hard by is a pretty wooden pulpit, with linen pattern; from which Cranmer is said to have preached at the coronation and at the funeral of his godson, Edward VI.*

52. (17) In the centre of the nave, one bay further on, is a large black slab, with brass letters, to the missionary, **David Livingstone**, d. 1873. To the left are four brasses, all in a row; of (18) **Robert Stephenson**, the engineer (a deplorable performance); (19) **Sir Charles Barry**, architect of the Houses of Parliament; (20) **Sir Gilbert Scott** (with (21) that of **Mr J. L. Pearson**, architect of Truro cathedral, to the left); (22) **Mr G. E. Street**, architect of the New Law Courts in the Strand. To the South of the brass of Sir Gilbert Scott is (23) the slab of Thomas Cochrane, **Lord Dundonald**, d. 1860; and South of that (24) the slab of **Sir James Outram**, of the Indian Mutiny, d. 1863. A little farther to the South is a row of slabs of three more Indian generals and statesmen; (25) **Lord Lawrence**, d. 1879; (26) Colin Campbell,

* Stanley, 495.

Lord Clyde (the red slab), d. 1863; and (27) **Sir George Pollock**, d. 1872. Then passing on to the Quire screen, we see on the left end of it (28) the monument of **Sir Isaac Newton**, the astronomer. At the foot of it is his gravestone; and close to it (29) a small lozenge-shaped slab marks the grave of William Thomson, **Lord Kelvin**, the physicist, d. 1907. On the floor to the left are the (30) slabs of **Sir John Herschell**, the astronomer, and (31) **Charles Darwin**, the biologist.

Newton

53. North Quire Aisle

In the North aisle, at the end of the Quire screen, are medallions of (32) **Stokes**, the physicist, (33) **Adams**, the astronomer, and (34) **Charles Darwin**; and a tablet to (35) **Joule**, the physicist. (36) A little farther is a seated monument of **William Wilberforce**, the abolitionist, d. 1833, by Joseph (317). Over this aisle the organ formerly stood, and in the pavement and on the walls are memorials of several musicians. In the first bay is (37) that of **Sir William Sterndale Bennett**, d. 1875. In the second bay is that of (38) **Henry Purcell**, d. 1695. In the third bay are those of (39) **Dr Samuel Arnold**, d. 1802; (40) **Dr**

Croft, d. 1727; (41) **Dr Burney**, d. 1814; (42) **Dr John Blow**, d. 1708; and (43) **Michael William Balfe**, d. 1870, and **Orlando Gibbons**, d. 1625.

54. South Quire Aisle

Now we retrace our steps, and pass round the Quire screen to the left into the South aisle. (44) In the first bay on the left, at the South end of the quire screen, is the monument of **Thomas Thynn**, d. 1682; the bas-relief below depicts his

murder in his coach by paid assassins in the Haymarket, London. (45) In the next bay, on the left, is a fine alabaster effigy of **Sir Thomas Owen**, d. 1598, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas under Elizabeth, with the epitaph "Spes, vermis, et ego." On the opposite wall are memorials of (46) **Isaac Watts** and (47) **Charles Wesley**, hymn-writers; and **John Wesley**, who is addressing one of his open-air congregations (314). (48) In the third bay, on the right, is the monument of **Sir Cloudesly Shovell** (315), wrecked with most of his fleet on the Scilly Islands in 1707, as shewn on the fine bas-relief below. Though he was neither a beau nor an ancient Roman, but a

brave, rough sailor, he is represented as an eighteenth-century dandy in a huge periwig with flowing curls, and below as a half-naked Roman. (49) In the fourth bay, on the left, is a fine bronze bust of **Sir Thomas Richardson**, d. 1634, by Hubert le Soeur, the king's sculptor, who executed the statue of Charles I. at the top of Parliament Street. (50) In the same bay is a fine recumbent effigy in alabaster of **William Thynne**, d. 1584, in plate armour.

Finally, we cross the church, back to the North transept; where, in the southern window of the western aisle, are large pieces of the original stained glass which formerly occupied a window in St Nicholas' chapel, and were part of the work done in 1253. There is evidence to shew that the windows of the ground floor were glazed with rich grisaille patterned glass, set with morsels of bright blue, red, and yellow, and charged with heraldic shields.* We may now examine the monuments in this aisle; they are, however, of comparatively little importance. We leave the Abbey by the great doors in the North transept by which we entered (166).

* Lethaby, 29 and 299.

The Wesleys

Isaac Watts

Sir Cloudesly Shovell

LIST OF ABBOTS AND DEANS OF WESTMINSTER

Abbots.	Elected.
Siward	-
Ordbritht	(*c.* 785)
Alfwy	-
Alfgar	-
Adymer	-
Alfnod	-
Alfric	-
(St Dunstan)	(*c.* 948)
St Wulsin	(958)
Alfwy	(1005)
Wulnoth	(1025)
Edwin	1049
Geoffrey	1071
Vitalis	1076
Gilbert Crispin	1085
Herbert	1121-3
Gervase	1137?
Laurence	1158
Walter	1175
William Postard	1191
Ralph Arundel	1200
William Humez	1214
Richard Berking	1222
Richard Crokesley	1246
Philip Lewesham	1258
Richard Ware	1258
Walter Wenlock	1283
Richard Kedyngton	1308
William Curtlyngton	1315
Thomas Henley	1333
Simon Bircheston	1344
Simon Langham	1349
Nicholas Litlyngton	1362
William Colchester	1386
Richard Harweden	1420
Edmund Kyrton	1440
George Norwych	1462
Thomas Millyng	1469
John Esteney	1474
George Fascet	1498
John Islip	1500
William Boston or Benson, afterwards Dean	1533

Bishop.	Elected.
Thomas Thirleby	1540
Deans.	
William Benson	1540
Richard Cox or Coxe	1549
Hugh Weston	1553
Abbot.	
John Feckenham	1556
Deans.	
William Bill	1560
Gabriel Goodman	1560
Lancelot Andrewes	1601
Richard Neile	1605
George Montaine or Mountain	1610
Robert Tounson	1617
John Williams	1620
Richard Steward	1644
John Earles	1660
John Dolben	1662
Thomas Sprat	1683
Francis Atterbury	1713
Samuel Bradford	1723
Joseph Wilcocks	1731
Zachary Pearce	1756
John Thomas	1768
Samuel Horsley	1793
William Vincent	1802
John Ireland	1816
Thomas Turton	1842
Samuel Wilberforce	1845
William Buckland	1846
Richard Chevenix Trench	1856
Arthur Penrhyn Stanley	1863
George Granville Bradley	1881
Joseph Armitage Robinson	1902

William Wilberforce

The list of abbots up to Nicholas Litlyngton is abridged from that given by Dean Armitage Robinson on page 139 of his edition of Flete's *History*. The Dean remarks that the dates within brackets are given or implied in Flete's *History;* they may or may not be correct. "Of those which follow, the earlier are sometimes uncertain; but they may be adopted at present as approximately correct." "Ordbritht is named in the charter of Offa, King of Mercia, 785." "But our first secure date is the death of Wulnoth in 1049."

The remainder of the list is copied from *Gleanings*, page 300.

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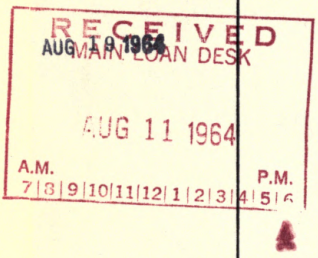

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